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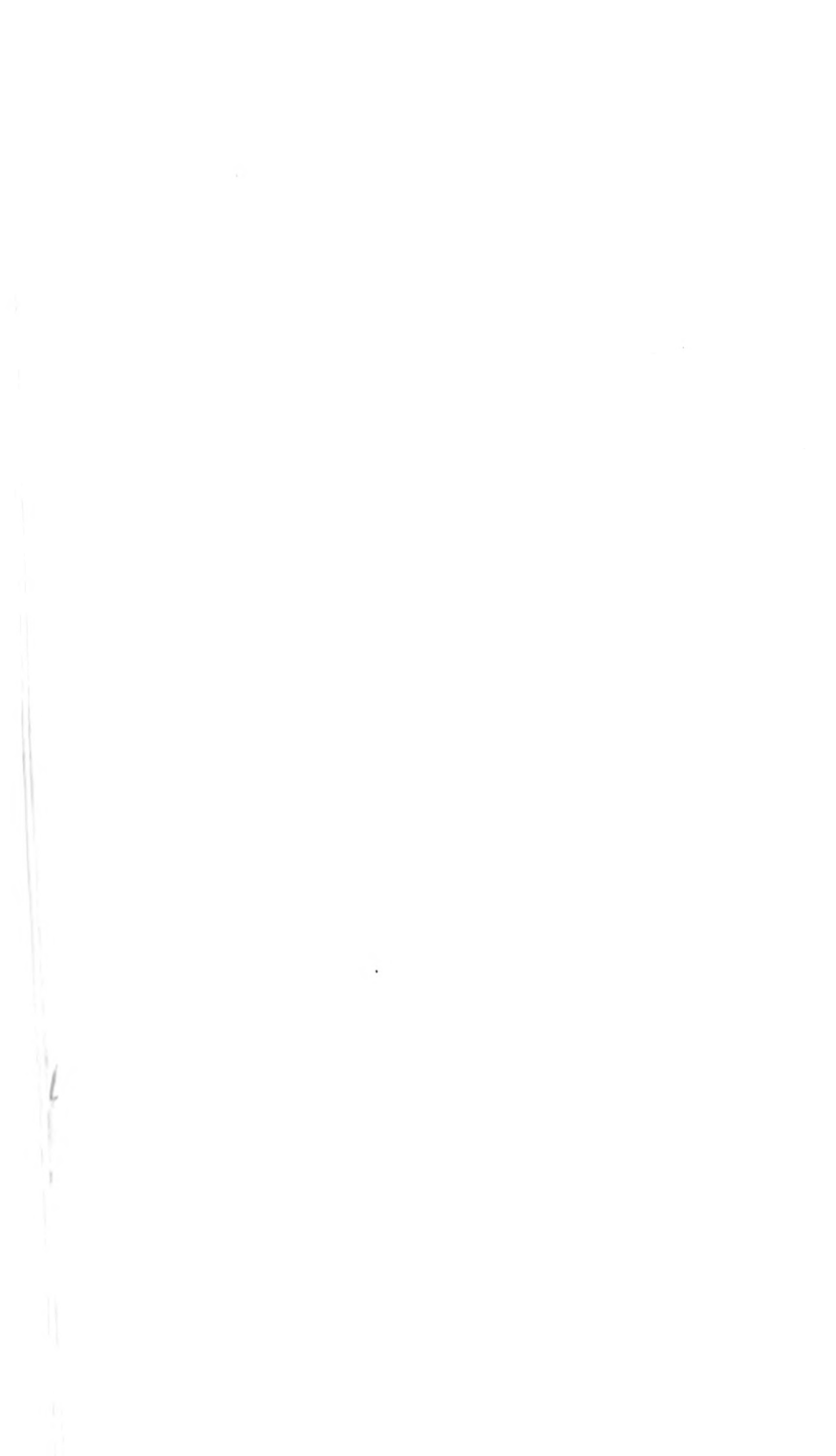




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VOLUME VI

*(1912—1913)*

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Kew.
- 

*Honorary Secretary:* R. A. SCOTT MACFIE,  
21A Alfred Street, Liverpool.

# ACCOUNTS

FOR YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1913

## INCOME

2 subscriptions for the year 1910-11, .	£2	0	0	
12 " " " 1911-12, .	12	0	0	
152 " " " 1912-13, .	152	0	0	
21 " " " 1913-14, .	21	0	0	
				<hr/>
				£187 0 0
Copies and parts of Volume I. sold to Members, .	£7	0	0	
" " Volume II. " "	7	15	0	
" " Volume III. " "	7	12	6	
" " Volume IV. " "	8	5	0	
" " Volume V. " "	3	8	0	
				<hr/>
				34 0 6
Donation from Dr. Archibald Constable, .	.	.	.	1 1 0
" " Mr. Gilderoy Gray, .	.	.	.	50 0 0
Profit from optional frontispieces, presented by Mr. Fred. Shaw, .	.	.	.	0 16 10
Proceeds of sale of parts of <i>J. G. L. S.</i> , Old Series, presented by Mr. Alexander Russell, balance, .	.	.	.	1 15 0
				<hr/>
				£274 13 4
				<hr/>

## EXPENDITURE

Discounts for the year 1912-13, .	£1	8	0	
" " " 1913-14, .	0	18	0	
				<hr/>
				£2 6 0
Management and Correspondence—				
Stationery, .	£4	10	0	
Printed Notices, .	0	13	6	
Postages, .	2	13	8	
Auditor's Fee, .	0	10	6	
				<hr/>
				8 7 8
				<hr/>
Carry forward, .	.	.	.	£10 13 8
<i>b</i>				xvii

	Brought forward, . . .	£10 13 8	
Journal and Publications—			
No. 1. Letterpress, . . .	£31 12 6		
Illustrations, . . .	1 1 0		
		£32 13 6	
No. 2. Letterpress, . . .	. . .	29 2 6	
No. 3. Letterpress, . . .	. . .	31 2 0	
No. 4. Letterpress, . . .	£34 10 6		
Illustrations, . . .	5 7 6		
		39 18 0	
No. 5. Letterpress (estimate),	£45 15 6		
Illustration, . . .	2 4 10		
		48 0 4	
			180 16 4
Advertising and Reviews—			
Prospectuses and printed forms, . . .		£0 14 0	
Envelopes, labels, and wrapping, . . .		0 14 4	
Additional Journals printed for review, . . .		8 1 8	
Postages, . . .		2 10 0	
			12 0 0
Despatch of Journal to Members, . . .			9 15 2
Separate offprints for the authors of papers, . . .			9 3 0
Excess actual cost of Vol. V., No. 5, over estimate in last year's accounts, . . .			0 14 6
Cutting and casting special type, . . .			0 18 6
Balance, income over expenditure, . . .			51 13 2
			£275 14 4
Less charged last year, . . .			1 1 0
			£274 13 4

## BALANCE SHEET

LIABILITIES.*	ASSETS.
To Creditors—	By Cash in Bank, . . .
T. and A. Constable, £103 0 9	Do. in Hand, . . .
Oxford University Press, . . .	Excess expenditure over income,
J. Summerskill, . . .	1907-8, 129 5 4
Excess income over expenditure, 1910-11, 96 15 0	Do., 1908-9, 77 17 7
Do., 1911-12, 42 3 1	Do., 1909-10, 23 11 2
Do., 1912-13, 51 13 2	
£296 18 6	£296 18 6

\* The sum of £50 which has hitherto appeared in this column as due to Mr. Gilderoy Gray is now omitted, Mr. Gray having made his loan into a donation. See income account.

I have audited the Books and Accounts of the Gypsy Lore Society, and examined the Vouchers relating thereto, for the year ending June 30, 1913, and hereby certify the above statement to be a true and correct one as shown thereby.

[Signed] J. SUMMERSKILL, A.L.A.A.

Certified Accountant.

21 VICTORIA STREET, LIVERPOOL, 1

March 23, 1914.]

NOTE.—The Society owns the following property—

Stock of Journals unsold (at cost):

Volume I.,	.	.	.	.	.	£47	11	6
Volume II.,	.	.	.	.	.	60	9	11
Volume III.,	.	.	.	.	.	53	19	6
Volume IV.,	.	.	.	.	.	58	15	3
Volume V.,	.	.	.	.	.	55	4	3
Volume VI.,	.	.	.	.	.	71	6	5
Subscriptions in arrears,	.	.	.	.	.	25	0	0
Dr. George F. Black's <i>Gypsy Bibliography</i> , provisional								
issue, standing in type,	.	.	.	.	.			not valued
						<hr/>		
						£372 6 10		
						<hr/>		





## ERRATA

- Page 12 line 1 of translation, *for* onto *read* on to.
- „ 20, „ 5 from bottom, *for Gypsy read Gipsy*
- „ 66, „ 10 „ top, *for sondorn read sonderm.*
- „ 79, „ 24 „ bottom, *for GAUDIX read GUADIX.*
- „ 120, „ 1 „ top, *for maila 'horse, read maila 'horse.'*
- „ 162, word 10, *for kēli read kēli.*
- „ 163, „ 16, „ *wāṭāski read wāṭāski.*
- „ 163, „ 24, „ *bēsāni-nā-kerān read bēsāni-nā-kerān.*
- „ 163, „ 24, „ *ānāndi read ānāndi.*
- „ 166, „ 66, „ *babūri-pand read babūri-pand.*
- „ 166, „ 69, „ *bagirēk read bagirēk.*
- „ 166, „ 73, „ *bāḥāš read bāḥāš.*
- „ 166, „ 81, „ *baḥlēmā read baḥlēmā.*
- „ 166, „ 81, „ *bāklīk-kerā read bāklīk-kerā.*
- „ 167, „ 86, „ *banirēk read banirēk.*
- „ 169, „ 145, „ *bōū read bōū.*
- „ 170, „ 157, „ *ātsantā read ātsantā.*
- „ 170, „ 161, „ *nī read nī.*
- „ 170, „ 161, „ *tmāliānkārā read tmāliānkārā.*
- „ 172, „ 191, „ *wa read wā.*
- „ 172, „ 200, „ *dāsēsne read dāsēsne.*
- „ 174, „ 224, „ *diēni read diēni.*
- „ 174, „ 230, „ *tāsre read tāsre.*
- „ 175, „ 242, „ *dīri read dīri.*
- „ 176, after word 270, *add 270A. durt (Ar.), 'I turned,' lxxvi. 12.*
- „ 176, word 278, *for kautinēni read ḡāutinēni.*
- „ 177, „ 290, „ *fārik-kerār read fārik-kerār.*
- „ 179, „ 322, „ *gāriāk-ḡirwi read gāriāk-ḡirwi.*
- „ 180, „ 359, „ *ḡāzā-kiyak read ḡāzā-kiyāk.*
- „ 180, „ 360, „ *kūria read kūriā.*
- „ 181, „ 371, „ *ḡāla-hōcer read ḡālā-hōcer.*
- „ 182, „ 394, „ *i. 9, read i. 9 ;*
- „ 182, „ 398, „ *with reference to read in agreement with.*
- „ 184, „ 423, „ *ḡāmīl-kerār read ḡāmīl-kerār.*
- „ 184, „ 442, „ *ḡānnā read ḡānnā.*
- „ 185, „ 467, „ *'ājib hrōmi read 'azīb hrōmi.*
- „ 187, „ 482, „ *heart '), read heart ');*
- „ 187, „ 500, „ *ibzīm read ibzīm.*

- Page 189, after word 532, add 532A. *ištālār*. See *štālār*.
- „ 195, word 654, *for* brother? read brother?
- „ 195, „ 661, „ *mněscān* read *mněšmān*.
- „ 198, „ 728, „ *ḡāwra* read *ḡāwvā*.
- „ 203, „ 820, „ *bīgymī* read *bīgymī*.
- „ 208, „ 926, „ *nūt-hōcer* read *nūt-hōcer*.
- „ 212, „ 996, „ *rīd-hōcer* read *rīd-hōcer*.
- „ 213, „ 1016, „ *kēšās* read *kēšās*.
- „ 213, after word 1025, add 1025A. *runāūr*, 'to cause to go,' lxxxi. 46.
- „ 214, word 1018, *for* *sāžrētā* read *sāžrēma*.
- „ 215, „ 1058, „ *subūhur* read *sābūhur*.
- „ 219, „ 1149, „ *ḡālōs ḡārāb-dēikāmā* read *ḡālōs ḡārāb-dēikāmā*.
- „ 219, after word 1149, add 1149A. *tārāmmīnū*, 'third,' xcii. 21.
- „ 221, word 1205, *for* *ḡāl-t* (second line) read *ḡāl-t*.
- „ 221, „ 1205, „ *rāžārī* read *rāžārī*.
- „ 224, line 11, *for* but read and.
- „ 225, word 1270, *for* *wīnha* read *wīnhā*.
- „ 225, „ 1274, „ *wātāski* read *wātāski*.
- „ 232, *to* [go] cause to, 1009, add 1025A.
- „ 239, *after* think, to, 808, add third, 1149A.
- „ 239, „ turkey, a, 700, add turn, to, 270A.
- „ 254, line 21 from top, *for* , who read ' who.
- „ 276, „ 15 „ bottom, *for* virgin read Virgin.
- „ 300, „ 4 „ bottom, *for* *bōrsēski* read *bōrsēski*.
- „ 305, „ 7 of translation, *for* Petersburg read Petersburg.
- „ 306, „ 1 from top, *for* Petersburg read Petersburg.
- „ 307, „ 17 „ bottom, *for* *nas valo* read *nasvalo*.
- „ 308, „ 13 „ top, *for* *Za* read *Ža*.
- „ 318, „ 11 and 12 from bottom, the numbers (<sup>1</sup> and <sup>2</sup>) of the footnotes are omitted.
- „ 322, „ 16 from top, *for* *Asunes* read *Ašunes*.



# JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

NEW SERIES

VOL. VI

YEAR 1912-13

No. 1

## I.—I GOZHVALI GÂJI

*KAMÁVAS te junáv—chori dake me pená—  
Soski peko mas si kushko, tu kilésa nai odiá :  
Sar lova ke kamás te las, kamás te das les tai ?  
Mandar dosta tu puchésas—lav diás i chori dai.*

*Kamávas te junáv—chori dake me pená—  
Sar 'vena sákon kola odói kai len lhatyá ;  
'Re doriavésti macho, ta 're pesk' izéndi chai ?  
Mandar dosta tu puchésas—lav diás i chori dai.*

*Kamávas te junáv—chori dake me pená—  
Sar biknéna pen chavé, ta kinás amé chaid ;  
Ta sár si blajvuné, teni dui trin : nanái ?  
Mandar dosta tu puchésas—lav diás i chori dai.*

*Kamávas te junáv—chori dake me pená—  
T'o manúsh mus te merél, sar meréna guruvá,  
So 'já büt te moserás dyás améngi 'Máro Rai ?  
Mandar dosta tu puchésas—lav diás i chori dai.*

*Kamávas te junív—chori dake me pená'—*

*Sar 'ven sostar akalá, sar 'ven soski okolá;*

*Tu bāt-bāt vaver junimos rhodá' rovindo 'kai.*

Mandar dosta tu puchéas—*lav diás i chori dai.*

DONALD MACALISTER,

Translated from 'The Spaewife'  
by R. L. Stevenson (*Underwoods*).

## II.—A FEW WORDS ON THE GYPSIES

By ARTHUR SYMONS

IT is a curious thing that in Romani the word for darkness is *kaliben*, and that 'this thing of darkness' is given by Prospero to Caliban. And yet the question becomes less curious when we know how long Shakespeare lived in London, and that, with his infinite curiosity, his keen-sighted observance of men and women as he passed them on his way, along the streets which we know so well, he certainly must have seen and spoken with Gypsies, for his curiosity would be drawn to so strange a race. In *Romeo and Juliet* Mercutio speaks of 'Cleopatra, a Gipsie.' Also in *As You Like It*: 'I' faith, i' faith; and both in a tune, like two gipsies on a horse.' As this was an early play, and *Antony and Cleopatra* written long after, it is not in the least astonishing that in the first speech Philo says of Antony:

'His captain's heart,  
Which in the scuffles of great fights hath burst  
The buckles on his breast, reneges all temper,  
And is become the bellows and the fan  
To cool a gipsy's lust.'

For there, used figuratively, the bellows and the fan are especially known amongst the Gypsies' trades; and it is known that they are especially dexterous in using them. Then, when Antony has found out that Cleopatra has betrayed him by her flight, and that all is lost, he cries out:

'Betray'd I am :  
O this false soul of Egypt ! this grave charm, —  
Whose eye beck'd forth my wars, and call'd them home :  
Whose bosom was my crownet, my chief end, —  
Like a right gipsy, hath, at fast and loose,  
Beguiled me to the very heart of loss.'

So, even as a Romany fortune-teller plays fast and loose with those whom she gulls, precisely so had Cleopatra played the part.

In Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* I found these words: 'You are the Patrico, are you? the patriarch of the cutpurses?' In *Halliwel's Dictionary* I find: 'Patrico, a cant term among beggars for their orator or hedge-priest. This character is termed *patriarke-co* in the Fraternitie of Vacabondes, 1575, "a patriarke-co doth make marriages, and that is untill death depart the married folke, which is after this sort: when they come to a dead horse, or any dead catell, then they shake hands, and so depart every one of them a severall way."' As strolling Gypsies were in that age often mistaken for mumpers, it is amusing to read in *Bailey's Dictionary*, in which Chatterton found many of his ancient words, weaving them into a new form of verse by their originality: 'Mumper, a genteel Beggar.'

### III.—A SIXTH BULGARIAN GYPSY FOLK-TALE

Recorded by BERNARD GILLIAT-SMITH

#### *Introduction*

Paši Suljoff well knew that this story ranked among the best he had to tell me, and it was many a week before he would agree to communicate it, and then only in three sittings, during which much coffee and many cigarettes were consumed, and his eternal complaint that his elbows were aching (*dukhân me kunjâ*) was repeated every quarter of an hour, and caused much delay. But at last the Master Work—for such it really is—was completed, and the whole long tale, so full of incident, with its final summing up and the drastic measures resorted to by the Prince (and vividly depicted in paragraphs 35 and 36), lay before me.

I have divided it into six chapters, the better to show the extraordinary amount of fresh incident in which the tale abounds. The opening of Chapter III. actually reads like the beginning of a new fairy tale.

I have endeavoured to translate the text as literally as possible. Thus in paragraph 4 *pôstîn-ta* is a verb borrowed from the Bulgarian *poštîn*, and meaning to search a person's head for lice, and the nearest equivalent verb in the English language is the somewhat old-fashioned word 'to louse,' *mudarél* 'strike,' and *kzltsónes* (same meaning), are used to denote the sudden bird-like action with which he or she who is 'searching,' having 'found,' makes a dart at, and seizes, the insect. But in the tale the girl finds silver on one side of the God's head and gold on the other.

I am told that traces of half the fairy tales current in Europe can be found in the *Devléskeri Paramisi*. Certainly the well-known theme of the Prince falling in love with the Sleeping Beauty finds here a somewhat original and possibly much older interpretation: for the Prince loves the girl and marries her while she is yet

dead and lying in her glass coffin, and the offspring of this union of life with death is a male child who, inheriting his mother's gift, when he cries he pours forth pearls, when he laughs he strews roses, and he lies by his dead mother's side playing with a silver apple.

The quotations in this tale are from the Bulgarian and from the Turkish; from Turkish in paragraphs 14, 15, 32, and 36, from Bulgarian in paragraphs 10 and 30.

The manuscript of this tale is marked 'from the Turkish' by the special request of Paši Suljoff. Other tales were likewise marked in the same way. Suljoff says he heard them from old Turkish story-tellers during the annual feasts of Bairam, after the Ramazan fasting time. But he told me this in *Romani Čhib*, and *χoraχái* means both 'Turk' and 'Moslem.' For this reason, and also because the term might be used, and often is, very loosely, I do not know whether the 'Turk' was a Turk or a Moslem Gypsy from Eastern Bulgaria, where, as in Varna, a large section of the sedentary Gypsies seem to prefer to use the Turkish language to their own.

Members can deduct what they please from the above. To me it seems rather to upset the otherwise fascinating theory that these tales have been handed down in their present form and language, *intact*, from father to son. But why, if this be not the case, should the *Romani* used be, or seem to be—for I begin to wonder whether it really is—superior, somewhat more archaic than that of ordinary conversation? Paši Suljoff is, no doubt, a born story-teller, and it may be that in repeating this tale from memory, though he heard it in Turkish, he was able to use choice words and expressions, many of which, of course, are literal translations of Turkish words and idioms, and to impart to the whole something of the quaintness of the original Turkish text.

However, anent these matters, *but isi adžái ándo kalipé*.

## E DEVLÉSKERI PARAMÍSI

### CHAPTER I.

1. *Siné jek phuró isi-da les jekh čhai. I čhai-da tsíkni, hénos našti thovél po šeró, izčálili džuvénde. I čhai phenél: "Bába-be, sóske na les dek řomnjá tha the thovél amén, izčáliljam džuvénde."*

2. *Liljas o dad jekhé řomnjá, odolké-da řomnjá isi jekh čhai. Nakló so nakló, i řomni phenél pe mašexoné čhaiúke: "Šunés mánde, lubnije, te les akiká parní pošóm, te džas ki len, dží kai na*

## THE STORY OF THE GOD

### CHAPTER I.

1. There is an old man and he has a daughter. And the daughter is small, she cannot yet wash her head, she is eaten up with lice. The daughter says: 'O father, why do you not take a wife that she may wash us, we are eaten up with lice.'

2. The father took a wife, and that wife had a daughter (of her own). There happened what happened, the wife says to her stepdaughter: 'Hear me, O harlot, take this white wool, go to the river, until you have washed it, and made

*thovés la te kerés la kalí ta ačhól ; dži kai na kerés la kalí pošóm, som alján kheré kačhináv tut."*

3. *Liljás-pes i raklí, kerghjás jek bokolí gošnjéndar ; liljás-pes, gelí ki len. Liljás, thovél i pošóm, jek blel, dúi beljá, trin beljá bešti si othé. Kiti thovél i pošóm, pand' edeki párnjol, a na káljol. Hókje okotár o del uxljél, phučél e čhaiá : "So kerés, Sínko?"—"Áke Bába, thováv i pošóm"—"E, sar thovés la?"—"Áke, isi man jek mášteço. Bičhalghjás man te thováv akiká pošóm ; katár i parní dži kai na keráv la kalí, te na džá-mayge, zerre, pheghjás, kačhinél man." T'áko babáske. Geló o del. So te dikhél ándi jag? Paromé bokolí gošnjéndar! Čulavél o del pe rovljása, kerél jek bokolí, áke asiká kabardínel. Džal paš i raklí. "Ha džá, Sínko, ikál ti bokolí ta xa mayó."—"Ábe bába, hénos na pekili." "Ha džá, Sínko," o del phenél, "óí pekili." So te džal i čhai, so te dikhél? Jek bokolí šuži, kabardimé. Bešti te xal, ói xal i bokolí, tsálo, ói xal i bokolí sa sastí.*

4. *Geló o del paš láte : "Sínko, póstin-ta máyge." Téelo o del ándi áygali e čhaiáke ; i čhai poštínel léske. I čhai xái-mudarél. O del phenél : "So kaltsónes?" I čhai phenél : "Rup, Bába!" O del phenél : "Sínko, džar te erínáv akatár-da, tha the dikhés máyge." Erinjás o del izakatár. I čhai xái-mudarél. O del phučél : "So mudarés, Sínko?" "Áke, bába, somnakál." O del pheghghjás : "E, Sínko, káte kuphirés ándo rup, t'ándo somnakál,*

it to become black ; as long as you have not made it black wool, as soon as you return home I will kill you.'

3. The girl betook herself, made a cake out of dung ; betook herself, went to the river. She started washing the wool, one evening, two evenings, three evenings she is seated there. As much as she washes the wool, as much again does it become white, but it does not become black. Behold the god descends, asks the girl : 'What are you doing, child?' 'Behold, father, I am washing the wool.' 'Eh, how are you washing it?' 'Behold I have a stepmother, she has sent me to wash this wool ; until I make it from white into black, I am not to go, otherwise, she said, she will kill me.' Thus to the father. The god went. What does he see in the fire? A cake of dung buried (in the ashes). The god strikes with his stick, makes a cake, behold thus it swells. He goes near the girl. 'Ha, go, child, take out your cake and eat.' 'But, father, it is not yet baked.' 'Ha, go, child,' the god says, 'it is baked.' As the girl goes, what does she see? A clean cake, well leavened. She sat down to eat, she eats the cake, the whole of it, every crumb of it.

4. The god went near her : 'Child, louse me.' The god bent down in the arms of the girl ; the girl louses him. The girl strikes. The god says : 'What are you hitting at?' The girl says : 'Silver, father.' The god says : 'Child, wait, that I may turn round, that you may examine me from this side too.' The god turned round to the other side. The girl hits. The god asks : 'What are you hitting, child?' 'Behold, father, gold.' The god said : 'Eh, child, where

*te thábljos sar i momeli te tsvetines!*" *I čhai ašli thábljol pékjol ándo rup l'ándo somnakál. Džal o del. Čalavél jek rovli i pošóm, kerghjás la katár i parní kali. "Le, Sínko, akaná ti pošóm ta džá-tuke." So te dikhél i rakli? O del kerghjás i pošóm kali. Liljás i pošóm i rakli, tsidinjás, džál-peske.*

5. *Dikhél i mástexo i čhai ándo rup th'ándo somnakál, thábljol pékjol šukaripnástar. Uxtjél i mástexo katár o stólos, thoghjás la, ói te bešél. Pe čhaiúke vakjerél: "Dikhés, Sínko, χas lákeri minč thai lákoro kχul. Dikh, tut su khiléntsa apéntsa χaljaráv tut, alá gošnjénder mařó keráv láke, ta parvaráv la. Sigo, lubníje, te džas oví tu." Del la i dai i pošóm parní, kerél láke khíl apéntsa; liljás-pes i čhai lákeri, gelí ói-da ki len.*

6. *Geli othé, thovél ki len, jek bleh, dui beljá, trin beljá. Hóike okatár o del: "Dóbro večer, Sínko." I čhai phenél e devléske: "Dit akarká phuró χer, pále phučél man so keráv." Pále o del: "Dóbro večer." Pále i čhai: "Dit akarká phuró χer, pále phučél mun so keráv." O del láke: "He Sínko, egá te kerél tut o del epkáš χerní, epkáš džuvlí, ta so si χerá palál túte te perén ta te našti vázdes to šeró katár o χerá." Lel-pes i rakli, geli-peske. So te dikhél i dai? Epkáš χerní, epkáš munúš; so si χerá, sa palál la. Íljlol i dai, lel e χerén palál, anél e čhaiú andré.*

7. *Kerél i dai sášto, sar akalé čhaiúkoro fustáni: thábljol, pékjol ói-da ándo rup thai ándo somnakál.*

you will walk (clothed) in silver and gold, may you burn and shine like a candle !' The girl remained burning and shining in silver and in gold. The god goes. He gives one stick's hit to the wool, he made it from white into black. 'Now take, child, your wool and be gone.' What does the girl see? The god has made the wool black. The girl takes the wool, betook herself and went.

5. The mother-in-law sees the girl shining and burning with beauty in silver and gold. The mother-in-law arises from her seat, and placed the girl that she may sit. To her own daughter she says: 'See, child, may you eat her . . . and her excrement. See, you I always feed with butter and eggs, but I make bread from dung for her to nourish her. Quickly, harlot, go you also.' The mother gives her white wool, and prepares for her butter with eggs; her child betook herself, she too went to the river.

6. She went thither and washes in the river, one evening, two evenings, three evenings. Behold yonder the god: 'Good evening, child.' The girl says to the god: 'See that old ass who is asking me what I am doing.' Again, the god: 'Good evening.' Again the girl: 'See that old ass asking me what I am doing.' The god says) to her: 'Ah, child, may the god now make you half a she-ass, and half a woman, and as many he-asses as there are, may they all follow you, so that you will not be able to lift up your head by reason of the asses.' The girl betakes herself, went. What does the mother see? Half a she-ass, and half a human being; all the male asses after her. The mother starts driving the asses away, and brings the girl indoors.

7. The mother makes a frock just similar to the other girl's one, so that she too burns and shines in silver and gold.



## CHAPTER II.

8. *Suyghjás e thagaréskoro rakló, naboriasájlo. Uf uf uf! Kamerél. O thagár phučél les: "Ábe Sinko, so si túke? Da-li nandí so te xas, da-li nandí páres?" "Na maggáv ni tumaré páres, ni tumaré xabé. Amí maggáv—jekké phuréskeri čhai isí,—ta la maggáv, ta te anén la májge."*

9. *Šunél i romní kai kadžál e thagaréskoro rakló te lel e čhaiá, e maštexoná. Uxtjél adiká, i romní, urjavél pe čhaiá, thábjol, pékjol ándo rup t'ándo somnakál. Lel pe maštexoné čhaiá, thovél telál i balaní, tha garavél la. Aló o paitónja. Ikánel pe čhaiá, čhivél ándo paitóni.*

10. *Isí jek bašnó ta bašél: "Kikirigúuu, xúbava-ta pod koríto, sšs magarítsa-ta u paitón." Pále o bašnó: "Kikirigúuu, xúbava-ta pod koríto, sšs magarítsa-ta u kolá-ta." Isí jek hadžudžekja, phurí: "Thagára, šun, o bašnó sar bašél." O thagár-da kándel, te šunél. Pále o bašnó: "Kikirigúuu, xúbava-ta pod koríto, sšs magarítsa-ta u kolá-ta." Šunél o thagár. So te džal te vózdel i balaní, so te dikhél? E čhaiá, thábjol pékjol. Káte runí indžírja čhorghjás, káte asánili džúlja čhorghjás. Lel o thagár, čhivél la-da ándo paitóni. Tsidindé ta te džan ko thagár.*

11. *Gelé kai gelé. Lel adiká, i máštexo, kerghjás jek saxáuj pherdó lokúmja, sa londé, dínjás pe maštexoné čhaiáte, ta xaljás. Xaljás akaná i čhai, muli panjéske, kai xaljás londé lokúmja.*

## CHAPTER II.

8. The King's son heard, and fell ill. Oof, oof, he will die. The King asks him: 'My son, what ails you? Have you not got food to eat, have you not got money?' 'I do not want your money nor your food. But I want—there is an old woman's daughter—her I want, let them bring her to me.'

9. The woman hears that the King's son will come to take the girl, the step-daughter. She, the woman, arises, dresses her daughter, and she shines and burns in silver and gold. She takes her stepdaughter, places her under the trough, and hides her. The carriages arrived. She brings out her daughter, bundles her into the carriage.

10. There is a cock and he crows: 'Kikirigoo, the pretty one is under the trough and the she-ass in the carriage.' Again the cock: 'Kikirigoo, the pretty one is under the trough and the she-ass in the carriage.' There is an old witch: 'O King, hear, how the cock is crowing.' The King listens, that he may hear. Again the cock: 'Kikirigoo, the pretty one is under the trough, and the she-ass in the carriage.' The King hears. As he goes to lift the trough, what does he see? The girl, and she burns and shines. When she cried she poured forth pearls, when she laughed she poured forth roses. The King takes her, throws her into the carriage. They started to go to the King.

11. They went and they went. That one, the stepmother, starts making a dishful of Turkish delight, all salted, and gave (some) to her stepdaughter, and she ate. And when she had eaten, she was dying for water, for she had eaten

"*Ače-néne, de-ta man xarı panı, te piäv.*" *I mäftexo phenél:*  
 "*E Sınko, an t' ikálav ti jak, te dav tut te piés.*" *I çhai phenél:*  
 "*Ače néne! Sar kakılđines mángge, ta t' ikalés mi jak, te mángsa.*"  
*Palı i çhai;* "*Ače néne! De-ta man xarı panı, muljóm panjéske.*  
*Dinján man o londé lokúmja, pále na des te piäv panı?*" *I dai*  
*phenél:* "*An t' ikálav ti jak, te dav tut te piés.*" *Dikhljás so*  
*ta piljás jek kápka.* *I çhai phenél:* "*Ače néne, mi jak ikalgh-*  
*ján, bure-án te piäv te çaljaráv man panı.*" *I mäftexo phenél:*  
 "*An t' ikálav okojá-da jak ta te dav tut te piés.*" *I çhai phenél:*  
 "*Ače néne, sar kıldines mángge ta t' ikalés akajá-da jak, ta t'*  
*áčhorav e dóntsa-da korı.*" "*E, Sınko, te mángsa . . .*" *Dikh-*  
*ljás so dikhljás i çhai.* *Del akajá-da jak, ikálel la i mäftexo.*  
*Del láte o khoró, piljás çaljarghjás pes i çhai.*

12. *Gele kai gele dži jekhé karén. Del la butibá andár o*  
*paitóni, çhivél la muškár o karé. Lilé-pes adalká, gele ko thagár.*  
*Jek dijés, dúi dijés nakjél ko thagár, çan, pién.*

### CHAPTER III.

13. *Isi jek xoraçái, isi-da les biş raklé. Tsálo dijés merén*  
*bokhátar, sa mudarén kuşjén, thai çiriklén, ta çan mayéskere*  
*thanéste.*

salted *lukum*. 'Come, mother, give me a little water, that I may drink.' The stepmother says: 'Eh, child, come that I may take out one of your eyes, and I will give you to drink.' The girl says: 'Come, mother! As you are going to be angry with me, take out one of my eyes, if you so desire.' Again the girl: 'Come, mother, give me a little water, I am dying for water. You gave me the salted *lukum*, now won't you give me water to drink?' The mother says: 'Come that I may take out your eye, and I will give you to drink.' The girl saw what she saw. She gives her eye, the stepmother extracts it. She gave her, and she drank one drop. The girl says: 'Come, mother, you have taken out my eye, at least give me to drink that I may satiate myself with water.' The stepmother says: 'Come that I may extract the other eye too, and I will give you to drink.' The girl says: 'Come, mother, how are you so enraged against me that you will take out this eye too, that I may remain blind with the two!' 'Eh, child, as you like. . . .' The girl saw what she saw. She gives this eye too, the stepmother extracts it. She gives her the goblet, and the girl drank and satiated herself.

12. They went and they went as far as some thorn bushes. She gives her a shove from out of the carriage, throws her among the thorns. They went, they went to the King. One day, two days pass at the King's, they eat, they drink.

### CHAPTER III.

13. There is a Turk, and he has twenty sons. All day they are dying with hunger, and they always go killing birds and sparrows, to eat in the place of bread.

14. *Disilo. Liljás-pes o phuró xoraxái. Tsidinjás, džal lovdžilekjéste. So te dikhéł? Ándo karé jek čhai, thábljol, pékjol andé rupés t' ándo somnakál. Geló o xoraxái paš láte. Sar phirél, šuburtinel pipéntsa. Šunél i čhai sar si pašli uprál dumés. "Ko sinján tu, kai avés paš man? Ternó te sinján mo phral t'ovés, phuró te sinján mo dad t'ovés, phurí te sinján mi dai t'ovés, terní te sinján mi phen t'ovés."* Geló o xoraxái paš láte. "Me sinjóm jek phuró xoraxái." "Molína-man túke, te les akalká indžirja thai akalká djúlja. O thagár biáv kerél; ta te džas othé, te biknés, te pištínes: 'Indžir satarím gjuller satarím.' Amá paréntsa te déna tut, te phučéna tut, tu páres te na maggés, amí tu te phenés: 'Gjöz ičhin aldím, gjöz ičhin veririm.'"

15. *Ikistili i mástexo: "Be ixtiar, gel burada. Ne satarsen?" Pále ov, o xoraxái: "Indžir satarím, gjuller satarím." Vikínel i mástexo, e čhaiákéri, phučél e xoraxás: "Kač paru isteorsín indžir ičhin?" O xoraxái phenél: "Para ičhin satmam, gjöz ičhin aldím, gjöz ičhin veririm." Liljás indžirja. Ikalél jek jak, del. Phučél: "Amí gjulleré ne istersen?" "Onlardu gjöz ičhin aldím, gjöz ičhin veririm." Ičhai phenél pe daiúke: "Néne, de odiká-da jak, e lubnjákéri, tha le-mayge djuljá-da." Del akajá-da jak, lel láke-da djúlja. Liljás o dúi jakhá, o xoraxái. Tsidinjás, džal paš i rakli.*

14. Day broke. The old Turk betook himself. He made his way, he is going hunting. What does he see? In the thorns a girl shines and burns in silver and gold. The Turk went near her. As he walks, he makes a shuffling noise with his feet. The girl hears as she is lying on her back. 'Who are you that are coming near me? If you are a young man, be my brother; if you are an old man, be my father; if you are an old woman, be my mother; if you are a young girl, be my sister.' The Turk went near her. 'I am an old Turk.' 'I pray you, take these pearls and these roses. The King is making a marriage feast; you go thither, and sell, and call out: "I sell pearls, I sell roses." But if they pay you with money, should they question you (i.e. should they ask you whether you will be paid in cash), you do not require money, but say: "I took them for eyes, I give them for eyes."'

15. The stepmother came out: 'Heigh, old man, come here. What are you selling?' Again he, the Turk, 'I sell pearls, I sell roses.' The stepmother, the girl's stepmother, calls, she asks the Turk: 'How much money do you want for the pearls?' The Turk says: 'I do not sell for money. I took them for eyes, I give them for eyes.' She took the pearls. She takes out (from her pocket) an eye, gives it. She asks: 'But what do you want for the roses?' 'Them too I took for eyes, I give for eyes.' The daughter says to her mother: 'Mother, give that eye too, the harlot's eye, and buy me the roses also.' She gives the other eye too, and buys her the roses also. The Turk took the two eyes. He betook himself, went to the girl.

16. *Trin papinú urján oprál. I po-phuredér papín phenghjás: "E, okiká čhai koři si, ta si pašli oprál dumés: ói te džanél thai te šunél. Me kamukháv láke uprál jek por. Ói te džanél thai te šunél, te ródel turjál pes. Me kamukháv láke o por dži la, te ródel t'uzandinel thai te pipinel turjál pes, ta te lel odorká por ta te džal. Ta okotká isi jekh xaník, te džal dži ki xaník, trin drom te bányjol te susljarel ándi xaník, ándo pant—ov si Zemzen-sujú. Trin drom te daldinel ándi xaník ta te thovel e porésa pe jakhá. Ta k' ovén odolké jakhendar dúvar pó-šukár.*

17. *Šunghjás i rakli. Aló o xoračái. "Alján-li?" i čhai phenél e xoračaske. "Dikh-ta, turjál man dek por isi-li?" O xoračái rodinjás, arukhljás. O xoračái phenél: "Áke o por dži táte." Liljás les, dinjás les ki čhai. "Dol-ta man, i čhai phenél, ta igás man. He okotká isi jek xaník, te mukhés man dži la." Iyulghjás la o xoračái dži ki xaník. "Ha dža akaná," i čhai phenél e xoračaske, "te térgjov—he okotká." Mukljás les epkáš saxáti dur. Geli i čhai dži ki xaník. Téjili, jérkar susljarghjás o por, tsidinjás pe jakhénde; téjili, pánda jérkar susljarghjás o por, tsidinjás pe jakhénde; téjili, pánda jérkar susljarghjás o por, tsidinjás pe jakhénde. Trin drom. Ašlé o jakhá dúvar pó-šukur odolké jakhendar. Vikiyghjás e xoračas: "Éla kárik akaná mántsa." Liljás, dinjás, les dúi stadjá—léskere stadjá pherghjás sa lérja, petolójkes thai napoleónja, baksíši, kai ayghjás o jakhá,—thai geló-peske xoračái.*

16. Three geese are flying above. The elder goose said: 'Heigh! yonder girl is blind, and she is lying on her back: let her know and hear. I will let a feather down upon her. Let her know and hear, let her search around her. I will let the feather down near her, let her search and stretch out and feel around her, and take that feather and go. And yonder is a well, let her go up to the well, and stoop thrice, and moisten (the feather) in the well, in the water—it is water from the well of Zemzem. Thrice let her plunge (the feather) into the water, and wash her eyes with the feather. And they will become twice as beautiful as those former ones.

17. The girl heard. The Turk came. 'Have you come?' the girl says to the Turk. 'Look around me, is there a feather?' The Turk searches and found it. The Turk says: 'Behold the feather near you.' He took it, gave it to the girl. 'Seize me,' the girl says, 'and lead me. Behold, yonder is a well, leave me near it.' The Turk leads her up to the well. 'Now go,' the girl says to the Turk, 'and stand—see, yonder.' She left him a half-hour's distance from her. The girl went up to the well. She stooped, once she moistened the feather, and drew it across her eyes; she stooped, once more she moistened the feather, and drew it across her eyes; she stooped, yet once more she moistened the feather, and drew it across her eyes. Three times. The eyes remained two times more beautiful than those eyes. She called the Turk: 'Come now, over against me.' She took, gave two hats full, filled his hat all with levs, coins, and napoleons as baksheesh, for his having brought the eyes—and the Turk betook himself.

## CHAPTER IV.

18. *Lel-pes adiká, gelí anglál e thagaréskoro vudár. Kerél pes jek ambrolín; odolká-da ambrolá phágjon. So t' uxtjel ándi javín, so te dikhél o thagár? Anglál o vudár jek ambrolín, phágjol katár o ambrolá. So te dikhél i máštexo, "Sínko," pe éhaiáke phenél, "hič te n'ovél, adiká si i lubní, pe jakhá liljás kai kíngghjóm túke o indžírja thai o djúlja. Dinjóm o jakhá, sástili."*

19. *Kerghjás pes naboriamé. I dai phenél: "Sínko, kaból-dav pétures, kathoráv telúl túte ko kéreveti. Som blevéljovel kaavél to rom. Tu xai-tirínes akatár o pétures. Kršš, kršš, kršš, kabašén telúl túte, tu te xondínes. Te phúšla tut to rom, tu te phenés: "Sunó dikhljóm, te čhinés okiká ambrolín ta te des man katár o kjókjji ta te xav, kasástjovav."*

20. *Lel la e thagaréskoro rakló, čhinél i ambrolí. Axáljovel i éhai, del urjabá, kerél pes jek kávakos anglál e thagaréskoro vudár. Čhiyghjás i ambrolín, aló ki raklí. "Nakló-li túke?" I romní phenél: "Nána nakló," xondínel, "but si mágge kharilés. Sunó dikhljóm te čhinés okovká kávakí; te xav léstar, kasástjovav." Džal e thagaréskoro rakló, čhinél o kávakí, kerghjás les sa parčédes.*

21. *Isi jek phuri romní, bešél mamáí. "Sóske nána džav te*

## CHAPTER IV.

18. She betakes herself, went to the King's Gate. She makes herself into a pear-tree, and those pears break (*i.e.* the branches break with the abundance of pears). What does the King see when he arises in the morning? In front of the gate a pear-tree, breaking by reason of the pears. When the stepmother sees, 'Child,' she says to her daughter, 'undoubtedly this is the harlot, she took her eyes when I bought you the pearls and the roses. I gave the eyes, she became sound.'

19. She (the daughter) made herself ill. The mother says: 'Child, I will roll cakes (thin cakes rolled out into leaves), and place them under you in bed. As soon as evening falls, your husband will come. You, see, you will turn over the cakes. Krsh! krsh! krsh! they will crackle under you, and you will sigh.' If your husband asks you, you will say: 'I have seen a vision, that if you should cut down that pear-tree, and give me of the root to eat, I will recover.'

20. The King's son takes it, cuts down the pear-tree. The girl understands, takes flight, makes herself a poplar tree in front of the King's Gate. He cut down the pear-tree, came to the lass (his wife). 'Has it passed from you?' The wife says: 'It has not passed,' she sighs, 'I am very sick. I have seen a vision, that you should cut down that poplar tree; if I eat of it, I shall recover.' The King's son goes, cuts down the poplar-tree, makes it all into pieces.

21. There is an old Gypsy woman, sitting opposite. 'Why do I not go and

*lav okolké kavakóstar te čalaváv me vudaréste, káte si phagó?"*  
*Lel i phuri romni jek parčes katár o kávakos, čalavél ko*  
*vudár.*

22. *Blevélilo. Gelí i čhai othé, phučél la. "Brávos phurije,*  
*kai lilján akarká kaš ta uxtaghján mo vogi (džipé). Me,*  
*phurije," i čhai phenél, "ma-χα χολί; so kamaygés sa kaanáv.*  
*To šekjéri, to kavés, varindžjék te pírénde."*

23. *Jek rat, dúi ratjá nakjél, i phuri sa phučél la: "Áče Sínko,*  
*to vogi ná-i-but káte si." Amá sikavél la odiká e rakljákeri dai e*  
*phurjá, ta te phučél káte si o vogi thai i síla lákeri. I čhai phenél:*  
*"Áče phurije, savi fáidu isí tut te phučés mo vogi káte si, thai mi síla*  
*káte si? Kavakeráv túke, amá džar te kerjaráv máyge jek mímoras*  
*mamá i e thagaréskoro paláti." Uxtjél i rakli, kerél jek mímoras*  
*súde andé džamjén, thai turjál pes káte runi indžírja čhorthjás,*  
*káte asánili gjúlja čhorthjás. Blevélilo. Avél ki phuri: "E*  
*phurije, tu maygés te vakjeráv mo vogi káte si, thai mi síla káte si.*  
*Éla mántsa dží okotká, kavakeráv." Gelé dží ko mímoras. Dinjás*  
*andré i rakli, pheyyghjás: "Áke kavakeráv túke mo vogi káte si*  
*thai andékhora kameráv. Tu sinján sebébi máyge." Vakerghjás*  
*i rakli: "Mo vogi si okotká kaš, som zakorínes dekáte me kameráv,*  
*thai te dolél man déko me píréstar, katár i tsikni aygušti, thai*  
*andékhora meráv." Vakerghjás i rakli thai peli mulí!*

24. *Káte si pašli ko muló than, thábjol, pékjol šukátar.*

take of that poplar wood, to strike (*i.e.* nail) onto my door, where it is broken?' The old Gypsy woman takes a piece from the poplar-tree, nails it to the door.

22. Evening came. The girl went thither, questions her. 'Bravo, old woman, that you have taken that wood and raised my heart, my life. I, old woman,' says the girl, 'do not worry; whatever you will want I will bring it all. Your sugar, your coffee, straightway to your feet.'

23. One night, two nights pass, the old woman continually asks her: 'Eh, child, your heart (*i.e.* life, see above), where is it mostly (situated)?' For she, the daughter's mother, shows her, the old woman, how she is to ask where is her heart and her strength. The girl says: 'Come, old woman, what advantage have you to ask where my heart is and where my strength is? I will tell you, but wait, that I may cause to be made for me a tomb opposite the King's palace.' The girl arises, makes a tomb all in glass and around her, where she cried she poured forth pearls, where she laughed she strewed roses. Evening came. She comes to the old woman: 'Heigh, old woman, you want me to say where my heart is and where my strength is. Come with me as far as yonder, I will tell you.' They went as far as the tomb. The girl entered, and said: 'Behold I will tell you where my heart is, and immediately I shall die. You are the cause of it.' The girl said: 'My heart is that wood, the moment you strike anywhere, I shall die, and if any one seize me by the foot, by the little toe, immediately I shall die.' The girl spoke, and fell dead!

24. Where she is lying in the Dead Place, she shines and burns with beauty.

*Turjál láte sa indžirja, turjál láte sa gjúlja ; andé gjuljén t'ando indžirja garávdili.*

25. *Blevélilo.*

26. *Dísilo. Nakjél e thagaréskoro rakló. So te dikhél ? Anglál pes jek mímoras, sáda džamiéndar. André, jek raklí, mulí, amá thábjol, pékjol. Káte runí indžirja čhorghjás, káte asánili gjúlja čhorghjás. E thagaréskoro rakló maíli asló e rakljáke ko muló than, thai geló xaxaljás-pes lása ko muló than. Tsidinjás khamli, katár e thagaréskoro rakló. Bianghjás muršé raklés. O rakló pašló si, ándo vas rupuváli phabái ; khelél-peske. Dži pe daia odovká rakló, kai runó, indžirja čhorghjás, kai asánilo gjúlja čhorghjás.*

27. *Jek dijés, dúi dijés, jek kurkó. E thagaréskoro rakló phenél —kórkoro péske : “Dévla ! Sóske nána džav paš odolké rakljáte te dikháv la, deximnástar ? Čírala nanái geljóm paš láte. Lel-pes e thagaréskoro rakló, džal paš láte. So te dikhél ? Andi angali murš čhavó bianghjás : ándo vas rupuváli phabái, thai khelél-peske e phabaiása. Káte runó odovká rakló indžirja čhorghjás, káte asánilo gjúlja čhorghjás. Del andré e thagaréskoro rakló ; liljás e raklés an pe angaljá.*

28. *O tsikno rakló phenél : “Me nána džav túsa, našti mukháv me daia kórkori. Isé me džavas, dávas buljé e phurjákere daiorjá kai xaljás me daia.” E thagaréskoro rakló phutél e raklés : “Sar xaljás te daia i phuri ?” “Sar-li ? Tu, te dexesa*

Around her nothing but pearls, around her nothing but roses ; and she is hidden in the pearls.

25. Evening fell.

26. Day broke. The King's son passes. What does he see ? Before him a tomb, all of glass. Inside a girl, dead, but she shines and burns. Where she cried she poured forth pearls, where she laughed she strewed roses. The King's son remained enamoured of the girl in the Dead Place, and he went and became intimate with her in the Dead Place. She became pregnant from the King's son. She bore a male child. The boy is lying, in his hand a silver apple ; he is playing. That boy by his mother, when he cried, he poured forth pearls, when he laughed he strewed roses.

27. One day, two days, one week. The King's son says—alone to himself : ‘God ! Why do I not go to that girl, to see her, out of love ? It is quite a time I have not gone to her.’ The King's son betakes himself, approaches her. What does he see ? In her arms a male child she had borne, in his hand a silver apple, and he is playing with the apple. Where that boy cried he poured forth pearls, where he laughed he strewed roses. The King's son enters ; took the boy in his arms.

28. The little boy says : ‘I will not go with you, I cannot leave my mother alone. Could I but go, I would violate the little mother of the old woman, for she (the old woman) destroyed my mother.’ The King's son asks the boy : ‘How did the old woman destroy your mother ?’ ‘How indeed ? You, if you love me

*man thai me daid, tu te džas ki phuri : isi la jek vudár, ko pǎrvo ma, ko ftóro. Isi jek kaš kavakóskoro kovimé, ta te anés les othar, mi dai k'uxťjél."*

29. *Ikalél o kaš katúr o vudár džal othé paš i rakli. I rakli phenél : "Ačhá ! Amá sutjóm."* "Sutján, zer i phuri xaljás tut." *Uxtini i rakli. Dinjás la áygali e thagaréskoro rakló. Bešti i rakli, jek po jek vakjerghjás e rakléske :—*

## CHAPTER V.

30. *"Me, džanés-li, tu bičhalghján mángge te dadés, te avél te lel man asál túke. Aló to dad paitonjénsa, te lel man asál tuke, kai tu čhitján meráki oprál mánde. Aló to dad, te mánggél man. Isi man jek mástexo, thai isi la jek čhai. Ói tamám dikhljás kai alé o paitónja, čhivél man telál i balaní, čhivél pe rakljá ándo paitóni. Isi amén jek bašný. O bašný bašél : 'Kikirigúuu, xúbava-ta pod koríto, səs magarítsa-ta u kolá-ta.' Pále o bašný bašél : 'Kikirigúuu, xúbava-ta pod koríto, səs magarítsa-ta u kolá-ta.' Ko trító drom. 'Thagára, šun, šun,' jek hadžudžéki vakjerél, 'o bašný sar bašél.' Pal o bašný : 'Kikirigúuu, xúbava-ta pod koríto, səs magarítsa-ta u kolá-ta.' Šunél o thagár ikánel odolká-du, telál i balaní. So te dikhl naródos ? Káte runjóm indžirja čhorghjóm, káte asániljóm džuljá čhorghjóm.*

and my mother, you go to the old woman ; she has a door, do not go to the first, but to the second. There is a piece of wood, cut out from a poplar, bring it hence, my mother will arise."

29. He takes the piece of wood off the door, goes thither to the girl. The girl says, 'Achoo. Surely I was asleep.' 'You slept, for the old woman destroyed you.' The girl arose. The King's son embraced her. The girl sat down, one by one she told the youth :—

## CHAPTER V.

30. 'I—you must know—you sent your father for me, that he should come and take me for your sake. Your father came with carriages to take me for your sake, for you had cast your desire upon me. Your father came to demand me. I have a stepmother, and she has a daughter. Scarcely had she seen that the carriages had come, when she throws me under the trough, bundles her own daughter into the carriage. We have a cock. The cock crows : "Kikirigoo, the pretty one is under the trough and the she-ass in the carriage." Again the cock crows : "Kikirigoo, the pretty one is under the trough and the she-ass in the carriage." For the third time. "King, hear, hear," an old witch says, "how the cock is crowing." Again the cock, "Kikirigoo, the pretty one is under the trough and the she-ass in the carriage." The King hears, takes out her too from under the trough. What do the people see ? Where I cried I poured forth pearls, where I laughed I strewed roses.



31. "*Čhivél man-da mi máštexo ándo paitóni. Geljám kai geljám, kerél mánge lokumjá, jek saxánj pherdó lokumjá, sa londé, ta xaljóm, muljóm panjéske. Mangáv látar paní, ói vakjerél mánge: 'An t'ikaláv ti jek jak, te dav tut paní.' Me phenjóm láke: 'Áče néne, sar kîidînes t'ikâles mi jak, ta te des man xarí paní!' Dikhljás i čhai, dînjás pi jak; ikâlel i jak, dînjás man xarí paní. Mangáv látar: 'Áče, néne, de man baré te čáljovav.' 'E, an t'ikaláv akajá-da jak, kadáv tut kiti mangés paní te piés.' Del i raklí akajá-dá jak, ikalél. Geljám dži andé jekhé kařen. Del man butibá, peráv andé jekhé kařen. Lel-pes adiká pe rakl-jása, paš túte. Xan, pijén, biáv kerén.*"

32. "*Man ačhadjás ándo kaře, me-da kâte sinjómas pašli, šunáv šuburtinel dëko. Phenghjóm léske: 'Ternó t'isi, mo phral t'ovél, phuró t'isi, mo dat t'ovél.' Aló jek xoračái paš mánde. Phenghjóm léske kai tu biáv kerés; runjóm, indžirjá čhordjóm; asálniljóm, djuljá čhordjóm. Bičhaldjóm les te pištinel: 'Indžir satarím, gjuller satarím.' Ikístili mi máštexo. Kinghjás indžirja. Phušljás: 'So mangés léngje?' O xoračái phenghjás: 'Gjöz ičhin aldím, gjöz ičhin veririm.' Liljás mi jak, mangljás djuljá, láke-da mi jak liljás.*"

33. "*Ayghjás me jakhá. Urjánas trin papiná. I phuredér papín vakjerél: 'E, te šunél man odiká raklorí, kaperaváv jek por dži láte, te ródel turjál pes t'urakhjél. Isí jek xaník ta te*

31. 'My stepmother threw me also into the carriage. We went and we went, she made me *lukum*, a dishful of *lukum*, all salted, and I ate, and was dying for water. I beg water from her, she says to me: "Come that I may extract one of your eyes, and I'll give you water." I said to her: "Come, mother, how are you enraged against me, to take out my eye, in order to give me a little water!" The girl saw, gave her eye; she took out the eye, gave me a little water. I beg of her: "Come, mother, give me at least to satiate myself." "Eh, come that I may extract this eye too, and I'll give you as much water as you want to drink." The lass gives that other eye too, she extracts it. We went as far as some thorn bushes. She gives me a push, I fall in some thorn bushes. She betakes herself with her own daughter to you. You eat, you drink, you make a marriage feast.

32. 'She caused me to remain among the thorns, and I, where I was lying, I hear some one rustling. I said to him: "If he is a young man, let him be my brother; if he is an old man, let him be my father." A Turk came to me. I told him you were celebrating a marriage feast; I cried, I poured forth pearls; I laughed, I poured forth roses. I sent him to call out: "Pearls I sell, roses I sell." My stepmother came out. She bought pearls. She asked: "What do you want for them?" The Turk said: "For eyes I took, for eyes I give." He took my eye, she wanted a rose, for it too he took my eye.

33. 'He brought me my eyes. Three geese were flying. The eldest goose says: "Heigh, let that little lass hear me, I will cause a feather to fall near her, that she may search around her and find it. There is a well, let her go and draw

*džal te tsidel pe jakhénde, kasástjol.* Aló o xoraχái. *Phengghjóm léske te ródel turjál man, t'arakhjél jek por. Arakhljás o por, mukhjél les máyge trin papiná. Igulghjás man dží ki xantik. Tsidinjóm man trin drom me jakhénde, sástiljom. Dinjóm adallké xoraχás nagrada, ta aljóm athé.*

34. "*Kerghjóm man jek ambrolín. Ti romní kerghjás pes naborjamé, čhiyghjarghjás man túte. Kerghjóm man jek kávakos, ti romní čhiyghjarghjás man túte. Isi jek phurí. Thoghjás la mi mástexo te phučél káte si mo vogi thai mi síla. Liljás jek parčés katár o kávakos, kovighjás pe rudaréste. Vakjerél: 'Vákjer máyge, Sinko, káte si to vogí.' Vakjeráv láke mo vogí, thai peráv thai meráv.*"

## CHAPTER VI.

35. *Vikinél e phurjá: "Ko dinjás tut godí tha phušlján káte si lákoro vogí?" I phurí phenél: "Thagára, tútar nanaští gara-rár. Tu sinján ardjés ardjéséske thagár. Isi tut jek romní, isi la jek dai. Sa ói, ardjés, tasjá sa, del man godí te phučáv la káte si lákoro vogí. Ói-da phengghjás máyge: 'Kazakeráv mo vogí, amá kamerár.' Vakjergghjás po vogí: 'Mo vogí si okorká kaš. Kovíne les šukár thai dol man me pižéskere tsikné angustjatar, kaporár, kamerár.' Thai pelí, thai mulí."*

36. *O rakló geló kheré, phučél pe romnjá: "Áče tu, sóstar sin-ján naborjamé?" "Ništo, nána dukhál man." "Amí tu," pe*

the feather across her eyes and she will recover." The Turk came. I told him to search around me, to find a feather. He found the feather which the three geese have left me. He led me to the well. I drew the feather three times across my eyes, I recovered. I gave that Turk a present and I came here.

34. 'I made myself a pear-tree. Your wife made herself ill, she caused you to have me cut down. I made myself a poplar tree, your wife caused you to have me cut down. There is an old woman. My stepmother set her to question where was my heart and my strength. She took a piece from the poplar, nailed it to her door. She says: "Tell me, child, where is your heart." I tell her my heart, and I fall and I die.'

## CHAPTER VI.

35. He calls the old woman: 'Who gave you a mind to question where is her heart?' The old woman says: 'O King, from you I cannot conceal. You are King from this day to this day. You have a wife, she has a mother. Always she, to-day, to-morrow, always she gives me a mind to ask her (the girl) where is her heart. And she told me: "I will tell you my heart, but I shall die." She told her heart: "My heart is that piece of wood. Nail it well, and seize me by the little toe of my foot, I shall fall, I shall die." And she fell and she died.'

36. The youth went home, questions his wife: 'Come you, why are you ill?' 'Nothing, I have no pain.' 'Now you,' he says to his mother-in-law, 'do you

*sasáke phenél, "Kírk at-mi isteorsun, kírk bičak-mi isteorsun?"*  
*"Kírk at bizé olsun, kirk bičak düşmanları olsun, daha evvel*  
*gidelim bizé."* Phánder la saránda grastéygere poriénde, jek  
*kamadžia del e grastén, parám-parčés kerén la. Pe řomnjá*  
*parám-parčés kerhjáts.*

### ORADA MASÁL, BURADA SALÍK.

want forty horses or forty knives?' 'Let there be unto us forty horses, let there be forty knives unto the enemies, that we may go all the sooner.' He binds her to the tails of forty horses, gives the horses a single lash, they make her to pieces. He made his wife to pieces.

There is the Tale—Here is Your Health.

#### NOTES TO THE TEXT

§ 1. *izxálili džuvénde* . . . The expression often occurs in fairy-tales. The verb must be the pass. of *xáva* (*iz* is a Bulgarian prefix), and cannot be Paspati's *xaljovara* (*khállovára*), 'to be blear-eyed.' The dat. *džuvénde*, where one might expect *džuvénder* or *džuvéntsa*, is not uncommon.

§ 1. *dek řomnjá* . . . *dek, deko*, is 'some one or other,' used either as a substantive or adjective, accus. *dékes*, dat. *dekáte*, not *dekéste*.

§ 2. *pe maštexoné chaidé* . . . *maštexa* is Bulgarian, 'stepmother,' *maštex*, 'stepfather.' The Gypsies say *maštexo* for 'stepmother,' and, when used adjectively, the stem *n* is added as to all loan adjectives, hence *maštexoné*, as *zelenoné*, for all oblique cases.

§ 3. *jek bokoli gošnjénder* . . . The word is generally used in the plur., *gošnjá*. It is Paspati's *goshnó*, *goshnít*, *goshó*.

§ 3. *Paroné bokoli gošnjénder* . . . I am not sure about this adjective. I have taken it as coming from *parónav*, *parorár*, 'to bury.' The former of these two forms is the one used in Sofia. (Cf. Mik. *parov*, viii. 33.)

§ 3. *Jek bokoli řuži, kabardimé* . . . The verb is Turk. *kabarmak*, hence the *d* in the Romani formation. The ending is the usual Greek *-mévos*. *řužó* is 'clean,' common to many dialects. Cf. Frau Witwe Steinbach's *hal tu džudžu murš?* and English Gypsy *juzo*. It is an instance of the words forgotten by Varna Sedentaries. The Nomads know it, but say *užó* also, as *užó marnó*. This latter form *užó* is used in its real meaning by the Varna Sedentaries—'honest, pure, straightforward, upright.' *řužó* is materially clean, *užó* is spiritually pure. The origin of the two words is different (*v. Mik.*). Hitherto *užó* has only been recorded in the Rumanian dialect, and, with its secondary meaning in the Hungarian (*v. Mik.*, viii. 92, *užó*). With *užó marnó* compare Miklosich *užó d'iv*. The opposite of *užó* is *nasál*, also used in Varna. It never means *nasvaló*, and I doubt if it has anything to do with it. In Varna the Sedentaries say *nafsaló* for *nasvaló*.

§ 3. *sa sastí* . . . *sastó* here means 'whole, entire.'

§ 4. *Téelo o del* . . . For *téילו*, from *téljovav*. Cf. Pasp. *téilovara*.

§ 4. *Ake, bába, somnakíl* . . . Paři Suljoff's father said *somnakíi*, but all others *somnakál*.

§ 5. *Sa khiléntsa ařéntsa xaljaráv tut, alá*. . . Note the aspirate *kh* in *khíl*, which Paspati probably omitted. *Ařó*='egg,' *aró*='flour.' *alí*=Greek *αλλά*, 'but.' Elsewhere they use *amá*, *amí* (Turkish).

§ 5. *Te džas ovi tu* . . . *ovi*='also,' Rum. dialect *vi, vi-vi* (Mik., viii. 95).

§ 6. *egá te kerél tut o del* . . . *egá* is Bulgarian, 'would to God that.'

§ 8. *naboriasájlo* . . . Paspati has the equivalent *namporesájlo-tar*.

§ 9. *e chaidé, e maštexoná* . . . Though an adjective here, it has a substantival termination, accus. fem. sing. Otherwise *e maštexoné chaidé*, as in the next sentence.

§ 9. *tələl i balant* . . . Paspati's *balant* (v. Mik., vii.).

§ 10. *İst jek hadžudžekja, phuri* . . . masc. *hadžudžis*. It is probably Turk. Arab. 'adžuz, 'adžuze.

§ 10. *kändel, te šundel* . . . The meaning is thus carefully distinguished between the two verbs.

§ 10. *käte runt indžirja chorghjäs, käte asänili džulja chorghjäs*. I have on a former occasion pointed out how imperfect is the Sofia Gypsies' knowledge of Turkish. Here *indžirja*, Romani plur. of *indžir*, is used for 'pearls.' But *indžir* is a 'fig,' *indži* a 'pearl.' The Gypsies have muddled the two words. With regard to *asänili*, it must be remembered that the past tenses of many neuter verbs are formed from the passive, where in the present the usual active form is in use.

§ 11. *an t'ikilav ti jak* . . . The imperative of *anava* is often used in the sense of 'come.'

§ 11. *te mägysa* . . . for *te mägęsa*.

§ 11. *te čaljariv man panč* . . . the verb takes often double accusative.

§ 12. *dži jekhe kaxen* . . . The noun is used collectively, 'a thorn bush,' 'bushes,' hence the article *jekhe*.

§ 14. *andė rupės č'ando somnukal* . . . As *rup* is this time placed in the accus., the accent of *ando* is changed, since *andė* is in the oblique.

§ 14. *sar si pašli upral dumės* . . . or *upral dumęste*.

§ 15. The Turkish here, and elsewhere, is abominably bad.

§ 16. *koğl si* . . . The origin of *koğl* appears doubtful. The *ğ* was thus pronounced by Paši Suljoŭ.

§ 16. *ov si Zemzen-sujā* . . . Cf. notes to 'The Čordilendžis,' last paragraph.

§ 17. *ta igās man* . . . for *t'igalės man*.

§ 19. *kaboldav pėtures* . . . 'to roll,' 'to roll together,' is in Sofia *bolaviv*. *Boldint* is a cake rolled with a rolling-pin. I have nowhere yet heard Paspati's *bolaviva*, 'to twist and turn in dancing.' *Boldav* in Varna is 'to baptize' (Sedentary): *boliv*, e.g. *e zunjate*, 'to dip into' (*bolden len, ta sora leugo aliv thoren*, 'they baptize them, and then give them their names').

§ 19. *krēs, kabašen telal tute* . . . This again shows that the Gypsies have but one native word for every conceivable species of sound. Here it is the crackling of well-baked cakes.

§ 20. *but si mąge kxanilės* . . . i.e. 'very bad.' Cf. *o dad-da si kxanilō*, 'the father too is a good-for-nothing.' Here in Varna they say, *but nasāl, kxainō išt*. *Kxaindō* is also heard.

§ 22. *tu uxtaghjān mo royl (džūpē)* . . . Causative of *uxťjār*, 'I rise.' *Džūpē* is found in this dialect, as also *dživdō*, 'alive.' But the actual verb is missing.

§ 22. *varindžjek te piğende* . . . Paši Suljoŭ translated by *nepremnenno* (Bulg.), 'absolutely.' I suppose the first part of the word is the usual *vare* in *vareko*, *varekai*, *vareso*, etc. *varekustar*, 'from some one or other.' *varindžjek* is 'dunkel.'

§ 23. *amā džar te kerjariv mąge jek mımoras* . . . *Kerjariv*, causative of *keriv*, Paspati's *kerhiū keriva*.

§ 23. *som zakovines dekate* . . . See translation. *som*=Bulg. *štom*. *Dekate* is here an adverb of place, 'somewhere,' *varekate*.

§ 24. *šukatar* . . . For *šukariqmatar*.

§ 27. *te dikhāv la, deximnatar* . . . Nominative *dexibē*. Pres. tense, *dexāv, dexes*, etc. Past, *dexinjōm*. I have not yet discovered the origin of this word, meaning 'to love.' It is unknown in Varna, and I have not met with it anywhere outside Sofia.

§ 27. *Čirala nandi geljōm paš late* . . . i.e. 'it is a long time since. . . .' *Čirala* is from the Sanskrit. See Pott, ii. 200.

§ 28. *İsē me džaras* . . . 'If I went, or could go.' The first word is Turkish, cf. *gelir-sem*.

§ 28. *İst jek kaš kavakōskoro kovimē* . . . Past part. in *mē* (Greek -μένος). The verb is *kovinav*, root *kov* (Borrow's *kovantsa* for 'anvil').

§ 34. *činghjarghjās man tute* . . . i.e. 'caused me to be cut down by you,' 'made you cut me down.' Cf. *čumidighjarghjās po vas ko čhavō* in 'The Čordi-

lendzis.' *Ko chavó* corresponds to *táte* in the sentence under consideration, and *e chavéste* would have done equally well. The verb is *chigghjaráv*, as *kerjaráv* above. It is here purely causative, 'to cause to cut down' (the tree). There is a *chigghjaráv* in Sofia, corresponding to Paspatis's *čingeráca*, and meaning to pierce.

§ 35. *Ko dinjás tut godi tha phušlján kúte si lákoro vogi?* . . . Here *godi*, 'mind,' 'idea,' 'thought,' is distinguished from *vogi*, which appears in the same sentence having the meaning of 'soul,' 'heart,' 'life.' Miklosich should not have classified the two words under one heading. *Vogi*, *hogi* is Armenian (as pronounced in the Caucasus) for 'spirit.'

#### IV.—GYPSY DANCES

By ERIC OTTO WINSTEDT and THOMAS WILLIAM THOMPSON

IF the Gypsies of Great Britain have never rivalled those of Hungary in musical fame, or those of Russia and Spain in the dance, they have not failed to show considerable ability in both arts. Almost the earliest mention of Gypsies in these isles refers to them as having 'dansit before the king in Halyrudhous':<sup>1</sup> and, though they soon were banished from court, they have never ceased to play the part of popular entertainers elsewhere. The dancing booths of the Grays and Shaws in East Anglia some hundred years ago have been described in a former paper:<sup>2</sup> and, according to his son Noah, Bill Shaw was the first to travel Oxfordshire and the neighbouring counties with a similar booth. But Gypsy fiddlers had long been indispensable in that county, as elsewhere, at rural feasts and entertainments. 'The revel called the Marsh Bush kept on Whitsunday,' at Headington, near Oxford, and only remembered by the elderly in 1804, 'was attended by Gypsey Fiddlers and others, and several sets of Dancers the whole of the afternoon.'<sup>3</sup> Indeed, there is plenty of evidence that till fairly recent days the Gypsy fiddler drove a thriving trade. Old Adam Lee, a London-side fiddler, executed exactly a hundred years ago<sup>4</sup> with his son Thomas for a brutal highway robbery, of which they were popularly believed to be perfectly

<sup>1</sup> In 1530. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 167.

<sup>3</sup> *MS. Top. Oxon.*, b. 75, p. 98, quoting from the Upcott collection.

<sup>4</sup> The indictment of Adam Lee, Thomas Lee, and Eleanor, his wife, at the Surrey Assizes, April 1, 1812, for a highway robbery committed on Elizabeth Collier between Horsham and Walton on October 21, 1811, may be found in *The Times*, April 3, 1812; and the condemnation of Adam and Thomas to death and Eleanor to transportation for life, *ibid.*, April 7. In the issue for April 30 is a notice that the graves of Thomas and Alexander (*sic*) Lee, who were executed on Monday last at Horsemonger Lane and afterwards interred in Streatham churchyard, were found on Saturday to have been disturbed and the bodies removed. Was this done by resurrectionists, or by their relatives, who wished to remove them to some other

innocent, was among the many Gypsies of whom it is told that they gave their daughters a peck measure of sovereigns at their wedding.<sup>1</sup> Nor can their performances have been by any means despicable, if Tommy Boswell (*alias* Lewis) was correct in claiming that his father Lewis Boswell once played against Paganini, and the honours were judged fairly divided. Until a year or so ago Tommy himself eked out a subsistence by his music in the villages on the Berkshire downs; and a few Gypsies, for example Cornelius and Adolphus Wood in Wales, may still be found in the less sophisticated parts of the country who rely on their fiddles for a livelihood. But the priggishness instilled in the younger generation of rustics by a Board School education has rendered the Gypsy fiddler's living a most precarious one; and, though the art is not likely to die among so musical a people, it is becoming more and more a mere relaxation.

Nor have they confined their attention to the fiddle, though it is the distinctive Romany instrument. In the North they have taken to the pipes, and many Gypsies or half-bloods were noted players, the most famous being James Allan,<sup>2</sup> the Northumbrian piper, who wandered over most of Europe and Asia, earning his way by his music. In Wales John Roberts and his sons, one of whom has won nineteen prizes at Eisteddfodau and played before many crowned heads, have taken to the national harp with such success as to surpass most native players:<sup>3</sup> and, though the Welsh blood in their veins may be partly responsible for their success, other Gypsies attained some celebrity. Charlie Wood played in the band formed by John Roberts and his sons at Llandrindod; and Gypsy harpers such as Edward Wood used to be attached to the larger Welsh hotels.

Of their accomplishment as dancers there is less evidence; but any one who has enjoyed a musical evening with Addie Lee's family at Yarmouth, and witnessed the performance of her three daughters<sup>4</sup>

resting-place? Adam had been arrested some years before at Norwood with his sons John, Robert, Stephen and Thomas, and Ambrose Boswell on suspicion of having committed 'divers footpad robberies.' Cf. *The Times*, Oct. 17, 1795.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. T. Frost, *Recollections of a Country Journalist* (1886), pp. 4 foll. Frost derived his information from an old fiddler, who had often played with Adam.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Brockie, *Gypsies of Yetholm*, pp. 147-166, and *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 266-277.

<sup>3</sup> On Roberts and his family cf. Groome, *In Gypsy Tents*, p. 156, and *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 180, where a list of the members of the Wood, Roberts and Jones families, who distinguished themselves as harpists and fiddlers, is given.

<sup>4</sup> The youngest, Katie, has won prizes for dancing in public competitions on the Britannia pier.

and her half-brother Tommy Smith, cannot doubt of their terpsichorean abilities. The company in Scotland in 1530 must have been counted by no means indifferent performers or they would not have been chosen to dance before the king. Groome and MacRitchie claim Romany blood for a 'Dutch' or 'High-German' 'danceuse,' who with 'her two gipsy daughters' caused a furore in England in 1689,<sup>1</sup> but one may be pardoned doubting whether that is not insisting too closely on the vague word 'Gypsy': and two daughters of Leonard Lee are on the operatic stage now. There is 'no one like Gypsy Will's wife for dancing in a platter,' says Borrow in the 'Book of the Wisdom of the Egyptians,'<sup>2</sup> though where the wisdom of the observation comes in it is hard to see. But one may note that this strange accomplishment is one which Engelbert Wittich claims for his mother.<sup>3</sup> Her performances were given in public; and so probably were those of Gypsy Will's wife, as it is clear that in the early part of the nineteenth century Gypsy women still went dancing to the tambourine. Groome<sup>4</sup> has several references to old ladies who had been famous as dancers and tambourine players: Townsend,<sup>5</sup> writing about 1830, saw Gypsies fiddling at village feasts and women playing the tambourine from door to door in Northamptonshire: and it is to be supposed that the tambourines attributed to the girls of the Gray and Shaw tribes at their fathers' dancing booths were used to accompany their own or other people's dancing, as the sound of that instrument is hardly soul-sufficing in itself. Sporadic instances occur later. On the solitary occasion on which Leland met Matthew Wood he was accompanied by a sister who danced to his fiddling:<sup>6</sup> and Tommy Lewis, in his younger days, used to be attended by his sister Constance, dancing and playing the 'mandoline,' our informant, an old farmer, said, but surely he must have meant 'tambourine.'

Nor were the men behind their ladies in the light fantastic art. Oliver Cooper, son of fighting Jack Cooper, used to dance at the 'music-halls, gaffs, and theatres,' and his brother Dookey was accounted the best Gypsy dancer in the country, if one may

<sup>1</sup> MacRitchie, *Scottish Gypsies under the Stewarts*, p. 26, footnote. But the word 'Gypsy' was often used with the meaning of 'roguish.' In any case this lady is hardly a fair example of Gypsy dancing, as her performances were mainly or exclusively on the tight rope.

<sup>2</sup> *Lavolil* (J. Murray, 1907), p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> *Blicke in das Leben der Zigeuner* (1911), p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> *In Gipsy Tents*, pp. 177, 192.

<sup>5</sup> *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 125.

<sup>6</sup> *The Gypsies*, p. 193.

believe the author of No. 747.<sup>1</sup> Another character in the same invaluable work prided himself on putting in thirty-seven different steps in a Plymouth hornpipe,<sup>2</sup> when matched against a friend. Such contests were probably not rare. Old Neily Buckland used to tell us how his cousin Liberty and Noah Shaw, who as boys were counted the best dancers of their respective families, were set on a table at Abingdon and danced for an hour or more against each other. Charlie Junnix boasts that he was the most accomplished dancer among the London Gypsies in his younger days, and that he could dance on a pencil: Snēki Boswell prides himself on having 'walked twenty miles on top of tuppence,' but his meaning is not very apparent: George, and possibly other sons of Noah Heron, appear at the music-halls in the large towns of the north of England, his brother Bertie, aged seven or eight, being no mean performer of step dances.

On festive occasions elaborate balls were held in strict privacy, and there, no doubt, the best of Romany dancing was to be seen; for the Gypsies seldom show their best to the *gâje*. Mr. W. A. Dutt, writing in 1896,<sup>3</sup> mentions one of the last of these balls, 'held near Bungay in Suffolk, to celebrate the acquittal of a well-known Gypsy, who had been charged with sheep-stealing at Norwich Assizes. On the eve of the day of his release, the encampment to which he belonged was the scene of much activity in the way of cooking preparations and personal adornment, and when night came on the fiddles were tuned up and dancing was commenced and kept up till daylight.' He goes on to add that 'all this is changed. Now, Gypsy balls are held only when a larger number of Romanies than usual collect together, and then a hall is hired at the nearest town, and the whole affair is merely a novel expedient for making money,' instancing one held at South Shields in which the Grays took part.

But the Grays were not the originators of this method of

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 109-10.

<sup>2</sup> Hornpipes appear to have been a speciality of Gypsies, and, strangely, were indulged in before death. Wester Lee's grandfather danced one at the age of 105, and Josh Gray's grandmother did the same shortly before her death at the age of 102. Some Gypsies declare that they can tell what family a strange Gypsy belongs to as soon as they have seen him dance. Clarke, in his *Travels*, i. 77, states that he saw Gypsies at Moscow dancing a dance called *Barina*, which was very like a hornpipe. It was a popular Russian dance, but was said to have been introduced by the Gypsies. Clarke suggests that the hornpipe was a similar introduction; but it seems highly improbable, though E. L. Urlin, *Dancing ancient and modern*, p. 67, says the hornpipe was derived from the *barina*.

<sup>3</sup> *Good Words*, Feb. 1896, pp. 120-6.



extracting money from the *dinile gâje* without unpleasant exertion. For some four or five years, beginning towards the end of the sixties and extending into the seventies, a band calling themselves the 'Epping Forest Gypsies' had been touring England, giving balls in nearly every town of any size. The first trace of them is in a letter from Miss S. Mason of Newcastle to Bataillard, preserved in the collection of his papers at Manchester. Writing in March, 1871, she mentions a visit of the Epping Forest Gypsies about three years before. Another letter, dated 17th June 1871, seems to refer to a former visit of the same band: and Mr. J. H. Donaldson, secretary of the Northern Counties Conservative Newspaper Company, kindly informs us that he remembers such a camp on the moor at Newcastle in 1866. It is, however, probable that Miss Mason was mistaken in identifying the two bands. Those who passed through Newcastle in 1866 were, doubtless, Jasper Petulengro and his family on their way to Scotland, as they, with some Coopers, Lees, Smiths, and a mysterious family referred to as P——, spent some time in Edinburgh in the summer and again in the winter of 1867 and the spring of 1868.<sup>1</sup> But no Boswells or Youngs were in the camp at Edinburgh, nor, indeed, any of the party who gave balls, except George (*alias* Lazy) Smith: nor were any balls given there.<sup>2</sup> At Newcastle, too, they

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 'My Friend's Gipsy Journal,' in *Good Words*, 1868, pp. 701-5, 745-62. Only the first letters of the names are given, but these with a list of Christian names make it certain that Ambrose and all his family, his brother Fäden and his family, Johnny Cooper and his wife, Lavaithen Lee and her sons Logan and Nathan, and George (*alias* Lazy) Smith and his mother, were present.

<sup>2</sup> This was written before seeing George (Lazy) Smith's *Incidents in a Gipsy's Life*. There he states that a ball took place at Newington during their travels in Scotland, and that they made £700 in the three weeks they spent there, and had a great success in Aberdeen and other Scottish towns. But as he goes on to mention the Queen's visit to the camp at Dunbar in the next sentence, and that did not occur till 1878, this does not give any clear clue to the date. In the winter of 1867-8 they spent much longer than three weeks at Edinburgh, and the author of the 'Gipsy Journal,' who visited the camp almost daily, must have heard of the ball if it occurred then. It must, therefore, have been either at the visit in the summer of 1867, or perhaps at a later date. However, if Lazy's dates may be relied upon, the balls must have begun earlier than we have suggested. He states that one was given in 1865 in Whit week at Leeds, and was attended by over 70,000 persons; and that they spent a month at Manchester, exhibiting in the Royal Oak Park in the same year. But, again, he mentions the ball at Oxford, which certainly took place in 1871, and levees in the Rotunda Gardens at Dublin, which cannot have been before about 1874, in the same paragraph: indeed, the Oxford ball is put before that at Leeds. So his dates are rather dubious, unless some external evidence can be found to support them. Lazy claims to have been the originator of the idea of charging for admission to see the tents, and, therefore, presumably, of the dances as well: also to have been the head of ten families, which must have included Ambrose Smith and other Gypsies older and more influential than himself.

are only mentioned as fortune-tellers. It would seem, therefore, most likely that the second band recorded to have passed through Newcastle in 1868 were the main body of the subsequent ball-givers moving north to Scotland, where they certainly did travel in company with the Reynolds family.<sup>1</sup> In that case, the idea of giving balls, and the formation of a band for that purpose, can hardly have occurred till quite the end of 1868 or the beginning of 1869: and the first balls would be given in Scotland. But they must soon have turned south again.

In 1869 they were at Kidderminster, as the following extract from the *Birmingham Daily Post* for June the 7th<sup>2</sup> shows:—

'GIPSY ENCAMPMENT AT KIDDERMINSTER.—A company of gipsies, very different in their appearance and manners from those generally met with in the Midland Counties, are at present encamped in the neighbourhood of Kidderminster, where they are regarded with some curiosity by the townspeople. They are a colony of the Epping Forest gipsies, and comprise seven families, numbering about fifty individuals, children included. Each family has a van and tent to itself, but the former is only used as a living-place when the tribe are migrating from one locality to another. The tents are tolerably roomy affairs, the framework being constructed with long supple sticks, which are bowed towards each other, and covered with a warm flannelly material. Visitors are freely allowed to enter these nomad dwellings, and can judge for themselves the kind of habitat they have. The interiors are warm and snug, and more than this, there is an air of comfort about them which house-dwellers would scarcely believe could be had under gipsy conditions of life. Chairs and tables are not a prerequisite here as in ordinary dwellings, but the gipsies appear to be abundantly supplied with such fabrics and appointments as give a somewhat Eastern air to their habitations. They are well-dressed, not uncommunicative, and very easy and self-possessed in their manners. It appears that the men belonging to the different families in the camp rely for a livelihood on horse-dealing, and the other sex are, no doubt, able to do a little business by reading a horoscope or revealing a destiny. They use the Romany *tshib* or language among themselves, but do not seem to attach any importance to their children learning it, except so far as they may do so by haphazard. Some of the words they use are very similar to the words for the same things used by East Indians—so said one of the party, to whom our correspondent spoke; and there have been some statements of the same kind published in the Transactions of one of the learned societies. Since the arrival of the party at Kidderminster, a little babe has been born in one of the booths, the midwife's offices being performed by a woman belonging to Kidderminster. It was suggested a doctor should be sent for, but the reply was that a gipsy woman would sooner die than have one to attend her.

On Saturday evening the gipsies held a gala in their camp. A circle was fenced off with iron hurdles for dancing, and a band had been engaged. The gipsy women and children turned out in fête costume, and dancing was kept up at intervals during the evening. There was a fair number of visitors present, and the gala is to be repeated.'

Their movements for the next two years have not been defi-

<sup>1</sup> Groome, *In Gipsy Tents*, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Reprinted in *Notes and Queries*, ser. 4, vol. iv. (1869), p. 21.

nately traced; but they were not idle. They are known to have visited Swansea and Newport in Monmouthshire, Bath—where they hired the Assembly Rooms and charged a guinea a head to visitors—and Bristol, where they gave their entertainment in the Public Gardens, at the modest rate of a shilling admission fee, for they had the wisdom to fit their charges to the requirements of the different towns they visited. But whatever their prices were, money poured in. At Bristol, after taking £126 within the first hour and a half, they had to shut the gates for fear of overcrowding.<sup>1</sup> Then there were extras. The tents could be visited daily—for a fee; fortunes were told—for a fee; and, when possible, a local publican was squared to let them use his name—for a consideration; and then the Gypsies, armed with an out-licence, would buy up deadly cheap drinks, and provide refreshment for the thirsty at high prices. Additional attraction would be held out by the presence of the King and Queen of the Gypsies, or, occasionally, by their arrival. The latter, according to one who professed to have played the game,<sup>2</sup> really meant that after due notice had been given by posters that the King and Queen would be present at the next entertainment, and a report of their arrival by a certain train circulated, two of the party would unostentatiously take a train to the nearest station, put on their finery, and return to be met by their fellow-conspirators at the station and escorted triumphantly by a gaping crowd back to the tents. Of course this meant more visitors, and more fortune-telling by the Queen, at a price proportionate to her dignity. Still, expenses must have been high: they would pay anything up to £100 for a public room, and strangely, as there must have been fiddlers among them, they never provided their own music, but hired a local orchestra, at prices varying from £5 to £30.

Money was evidently of little consideration to them. At Swansea £5 was given to charity, and at Newcastle £200, according to Noah Young, whose word, however, is unsupported, to the Hospital; and, as one would expect with Gypsies, a good deal seems to have been spent on personal adornment. Somewhere where Morwood met them, a girl whose name is given as Rosa Boswell indulged in a five-guinea pair of earrings; and the costumes at the ball which he attended were certainly costly. 'One of the women, who was about twenty-four years of age, wore a black

<sup>1</sup> The details about Bath and Bristol were obtained from Noah Young.

<sup>2</sup> Cornelius Buckland (*alias* Fenner).

and yellow satin dress so long in the skirt that it trailed on the ground. She had on red slippers; round her wrists costly bracelets; on her fingers were several rings; a gold chain and beads were suspended from her neck; and on her head was a kind of coronet, pendent from which were six golden fuchsias; her hair, which

# **The Tribe of EPPING FOREST GIPSIES**

Intend giving a GRAND

# **BALL**

ON FRIDAY NEXT, MARCH 24, 1871,

In the Field where they are located

## **IN BINSEY LANE,**

A LARGE TENT beautifully illuminated, will be  
Erected for the occasion. The

## **KING AND QUEEN**

WILL BE PRESENT.

And the Public will have a grand opportunity of seeing

## **GIPSY LIFE.**

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THIS TRIBE HAS CAUSED GREAT EXCITEMENT IN  
THEIR TRAVELS THROUGH GREAT BRITAIN.

---

The Ground will be opened at FOUR o'clock until SIX,  
p.m., admission, Two Shillings. From SEVEN o'clock,  
One Shilling admittance.

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A FIRST CLASS QUADRILLE BAND WILL ATTEND.

---

Manager—Mr Young. Refreshments provided by Mr.  
Barrett, 18, Corn Market Street. Every attention will be  
paid to the comfort of the Public.

was as black as the raven's wing and of great length, hung in glossy ringlets over her shoulders. Another gipsy woman was attired in a costly blue satin dress. Trinkets, eardrops, and chains of almost every pattern, red cloaks and shawls, neckerchiefs, and long sashes, of nearly every colour, were worn by the other females. Some of the young gipsy men who took part in the ball wore black dress coats, white vests and collars, satin

neckties, black trousers, and patent-leather boots.<sup>1</sup> At the ball, which took place in a field, Morwood noted that, though occasionally one of the Gypsy men deigned to dance with a *gáji*, the Gypsy girls held exclusively aloof; and a youth who showed too pressing insistence in inviting one of them to act as his partner,

# £500 REWARD.

## LOST, A CARPET-BAG,

Containing Half-a-dozen celebrated "Jig-dancers," a "Girum-skuter," with a "Fluffy" Top, a Long-sleeved Hat, and a Guinea "Ulster." Great precaution should be taken in carrying the same as in the Breast-pocket of the Ulster will be found a Prussian foot-soldier stuffed with "Glenfield Starch."

Whoever has found the same, and will return it to The "KING" or "QUEEN" of the Gipsies, Royal Camp, Binsey Lane, Oxford (where Tobacco pouches and Cigar cases are emptied on the shortest notice), shall receive the above Reward.

"FORTUNES TOLD (?) for a piece of Silver (*only half-dollar!!!*) Chops and Steaks on the shortest notice. Lodgings for single Men and no Boys. Shave for nothing and find your own soap. Good Accommodation for Travellers, with Sausages, Pork and Veal Pies (baked puppy and kidnapped kitten.)

### NOTICE.

A Grand Promenade of the "OXFORD FLATS" on Sunday afternoon. Admission to the Camp, 3d.

**OPEN TILL TIME TO CLOSE FOR PEOPLE WITH  
MORE MONEY THAN SENSE.**

had to beat a hasty retreat for fear of personal reprisals from the men. Groome<sup>2</sup> notes the same aloofness of the Gypsies, who were all dancing together at a ball given in Oxford, and seems to have found, reasonably enough, that it did not conduce to liveliness in the proceedings.

Their visit to Oxford took place in the spring of 1871, and of

<sup>1</sup> *Our Gipsies*, pp. 192-3.

<sup>2</sup> *Kriegspiel*, p. 225.

this occasion fairly full information is obtainable. During their stay they were noticed weekly in the local papers, and one of their handbills and a strange, more than half unintelligible, parody of it are preserved in the Bodleian Library.<sup>1</sup> According to Noah Young, they had arranged to pitch in a large public-house yard. The publican, however, when they arrived, opposed their entry, and, after a squabble nearly resulting in a fight with Noah, arranged for their encamping on a field in Binsey Lane. There we may leave *Jackson's Oxford Journal* to take up the tale:—

March 18, 1871. '*Gipsy Encampment*.—A large tribe of Epping Forest Gipsies are now located in a field in Binsey lane, the property of Mr. Charles Eaton. This is the same tribe which has created so much excitement throughout the kingdom, and we understand that they intend giving a ball before they leave, when their "King" and "Queen" will be present. The encampment can, we believe, be visited daily on the payment of a small admission fee.'

March 25, 1871. '*The Gypsy Encampment*.—The encampment of the "Epping Forest Gypsies" in Binsey-lane, has this week been visited by crowds of people. The Rommaneys are encamped in a field belonging to Mr. Eaton, where they intend staying a few days longer. There are five wagons pitched on the ground, and eight tents, the latter being structures of hoops and woollen coverings, with all the paraphernalia belonging to the wandering tribes. On Sunday last the encampment was inundated with visitors, and the Botley road was more like a fair than a quiet highway. We cannot say how many people paid their threepences to enter the gypsy encampment, but the receipts must have been handsome; and when the visitors got inside the ground there was nothing to see but a few tents, some idle loungers (among the men), and a lot of horses grazing. Despite this, however, the speculation paid; and after the ordinary folks had visited the place on Sunday, on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, the tribe was visited by the *dite*. Prince Hassan has visited the encampment, and nearly everybody in Oxford who could spare time, has been on the ground. An additional attraction is held out in that the "King and Queen of the tribe" are present, and the tent of the latter has been crowded during the week, and much amusement has been created by fortune-telling. The tribe had, we understand, made application for the Corn Exchange, in order to give a ball, at which it was promised that the King and Queen would be present; but the application was not granted. The gypsies, thereupon, hired a large tent, and they announce that they will give a ball this (Friday) evening at the encampment.'

April 1, 1871. '*The Gypsy Encampment*.—A ball was given by the gypsies on Friday evening, March 24, in a large marquee erected for the occasion on the grounds of their encampment in Binsey-lane. The heads of the tribe had made application for the use of the Town Hall or the Corn Exchange, but the request having been denied, the gypsies hired a marquee for the purpose of the dance. This was lit up with a number of lamps, and as much comfort as possible was imparted to the tent. Cox's quadrille band was engaged for the occasion, and

<sup>1</sup> In a scrapbook numbered, Gough adds, fol. A. 139<sup>v</sup>. Reduced facsimiles of both of them are given. Beyond the facts that 'girmskuter' was an old Oxford slang term, apparently of as vague application as 'thingumbob,' that a 'long-sleeved hat' was used of what is commonly called a tall hat, and that guinea ulsters were a new fashion at about this date, we cannot offer any elucidation of the odd terms used in the parody.

nearly the whole of the gypsies were present. Refreshments were provided by Mr. Joseph Higgins, Jericho House. Dancing was kept up until a late hour, a large assembly having attended during the evening. On Sunday the camp was again visited by hundreds of the curious, but the crowd was by no means so great as on the previous Sunday. Another ball will be given in the grounds on Monday next.'

April 8, 1871. '*The Gypsy Encampment*.—The gypsies, lately encamped in Binsey-lane, have left that place for Banbury. They gave a farewell ball on Monday, when about two hundred people attended.'

Further notices on April 15 and 29 state that they encamped at Grimsbury close to Banbury for a fortnight, and were visited by a large number of people, and then passed on to Leamington.

In July and August they spent a month in Cheltenham, and, though no ball is mentioned, took part in a fête at Pittville. There a peculiarly wooden-headed policeman, who was on duty in plain clothes, took upon himself to interfere with them, and the result was two prosecutions in the Cheltenham police-court on August 15.<sup>1</sup> The first was against 'an old woman who made her appearance with a coloured handkerchief on her head, a scarlet shawl over her arm, and wearing a plaid dress of very diverse colours.' She gave her name as Elizabeth Chilcott, was called the head of the tribe, and was charged with having 'pretended or professed to tell fortunes, and that she had used subtle craft, means, or device to deceive and impose upon her Majesty's subjects at Prestbury on the 14th instant.' The policeman deposed that he had seen her accosting young women, and that she had addressed himself and his wife and induced them to have their fortune told. When he announced his profession, she screamed out, and he was attacked by three men and four women, and with difficulty arrested her. The defence pleaded that it was a public entertainment, and they were in the same position as any other actors; that two years before the Gypsies—whether this band or another is not stated—formed part of the programme of a Conservative fête; and that the fortune-telling was not done with intent to deceive, but merely for amusement. The Bench dismissed the case, warning the old lady not to pursue the same practices about the town or under other circumstances.

The other case was against Noah Young, aged 28, and a youth of 21 calling himself Harry Lee. They were charged with attempting a rescue and assaulting the police in the execution of their duties. Noah was fined £2, 9s., and Lee £1, with expenses.

They appear to have moved on towards Wales, giving balls at

<sup>1</sup> Details are taken from *The Cheltenham Examiner*, August 16, 1871.

Bridgenorth and other places along the road to Holyhead. In 1872 they were at Holywell,<sup>1</sup> and stayed three weeks or a month in a field outside the town, giving one ball in the King's Arms Hotel Assembly Rooms, which was only moderately attended. They seem to have been alarmed by their experience at Cheltenham, as they did not tell fortunes, but went about selling things and dealing in horses. So at least says our *gájo* informant: but Zachariah Lock is more sceptical as to their reformation, talking of goods obtained here and there by false pretences and promises of large custom. There were about twenty of them, Smiths and Lees, in six or eight caravans and tents under a King and Queen named Smith, doubtless Lazy Smith and his wife. From there they went on to Liverpool, and their subsequent movements are uncertain.<sup>2</sup> Possibly they had already begun to split up, as there had been frequent bickerings between the various families, and the number mentioned at Holywell is rather smaller than that given in preceding notices. But Zachariah Lock declares that Noah Young and Kenza and Byron Boswell were still with them at Bridgenorth, and, when they reached Lancashire, the main band consisted of Wester Boswell's sons and Tom and Charlie Lee. At Blackburn they were joined by Ned Boswell and Joshua Gray, Wester's brother and nephew; they gave a gigantic fête in the gardens on New Year's Day, successfully repelled a murderous attack of roughs on the camp the same night, and stayed a fortnight longer. According to Joshua Gray they met with great success everywhere during their tour in Lancashire and Yorkshire. At Hull they made £120 at one ball, besides £20 for letting out the license for refreshments: and at Manchester the largest show of all took place. It was organised by a publican, and included a mile long procession of waggons and cars drawn by grey horses. Jem Mace and Gladiator, the coster's trotting donkey, were engaged to add to its attractions, and balls and fortune-telling were part of the programme. The Gypsies were allowed a percentage of all the takings, irrespective of profits, an arrangement which resulted in their enrichment and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Black's *Bibliography* under the heading *Gipsy Ball*. Unfortunately we have been unable to see either of the papers referred to, but we have to acknowledge the kindness of Mr. R. Williamson, of Holywell, in supplying us with some reminiscences of their visit.

<sup>2</sup> Sylvester Boswell seems to have stayed in the neighbourhood of Liverpool, as his letters to Smart and Crofton in 1874 are written at Seacombe; while Lazy Smith at the same date was in Ireland, where his son Patrick was born.



the publican's ruin. Soon, however, the game seems to have come to an end, though sporadic outbreaks of similar entertainments, organised by some of the same Gypsies, occurred later. The Rev. G. Hall informs us that 'twopenny hops' were got up by Esau Young and Oscar Boswell in Grimsby in the eighties, Oscar and Esau fiddling, and Esau's wife, Elvaira Gray, dancing to the tambourine. The same party gave balls at Yarmouth and at South Shields—doubtless those referred to by Mr. Dutt, as Caroline Gray and her children, Reuben, Gus, Esau, Charlie, Joshua, Eve, Alice, and Phœbe took part in them. The *rašai* has a photograph, apparently of a paragraph in a local newspaper, given him by Oscar in 1909:—

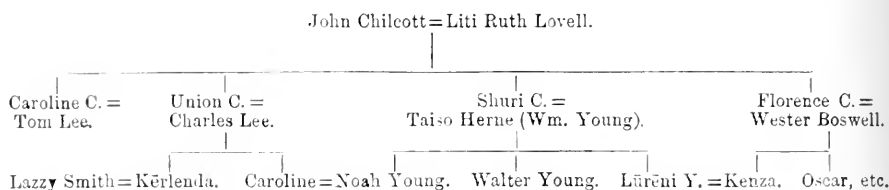
'THE GIPSY KING AND HIS FRIENDS.—King Oscar Boswell, of the Gypsies, left Werner's<sup>1</sup> Meadow on Tuesday last, where with his merry followers he camps every year during the season. On the previous Thursday evening the tent was decorated in tasty style, a chandelier was erected, and some forty friends were invited to partake of the pleasures of a gipsy festivity. Mr. A. Wagg's band was in attendance, and some of the very newest songs were sung in style. The "King" and his party spent a most enjoyable time, the concert being well conducted, and every one going out of his way to show how much he respected so jovial a royal personage as "King" Oscar.'

But this was obviously more of a private affair than a public entertainment; and the latter seem to have died out entirely now.

One point of some interest remains, the constitution of the band. Noah Young appears as the manager in the Oxford hand-bill; and Noah in giving an account of the band mentioned as members of it his mother, Shuri Chilcott, widow of Taiso Herne, his brother Walter, his sister Lūrēni and her husband Kenza Boswell with his father Wester and some of his brothers—Būi being specially excepted—and Lазzy and Ōti Smith. He did not mention Union Chilcott and Charles Lee, but others say they were with the party in Lancashire. These may be taken to have formed the nucleus of the original band. But Lазzy Smith in his 'upstart consequential' way stated to Mr. Eggleston that he was leader of over one hundred Gypsies who toured giving balls; and, though the aforementioned families can hardly have numbered as many, he may be right, if one adds various families who joined them here and there on their route and travelled with them for a time. When they were in Wales at any rate

<sup>1</sup> At Gorleston or Southtown there was a publican of the name of Werner or Warner to whom Oscar taught Romani, to the disgust of the Pinfold family who live at Gorleston.

Tom Lee and his family were attached, and Neily Buckland claimed to have taken part in the entertainments. At first sight it would seem as though this were a very mixed band, having no particular connection; but there is a clear connecting link, and that a very interesting one. Every one of the Gypsies mentioned was connected, either through his mother or through his wife, with a Chilcott family, the descendants of John Chilcott and Liti Ruth Lovell. The connection can be shown most clearly by a small genealogical tree.



There are two apparent exceptions, Ōti Smith and Neily Buckland; but even they had some connection with the Chilcotts. Ōti's mother, Elizabeth Smith, as may be seen from the genealogical tree attached to the article on Borrow's Gypsies,<sup>1</sup> was a half-sister of John Chilcott, and it is possible that she is the Elizabeth Chilcott of the prosecution at Cheltenham, names given on such occasions being most unreliable; while Neily Buckland, whose matrimonial alliances had been many and various, claimed to have lived at one time—probably when these balls were taking place—with a Sabaina Chilcott.

The interest of this connection lies in the fact that it is an apparent survival of an old Gypsy custom still practised by foreign Gypsies. Wliskoeki<sup>2</sup> lays down the rule as applying to Gypsies of Central Europe, that when a man marries, he leaves his own clan and joins that of his wife, and to her clan the children count; and this rule is supported by Brepohl,<sup>3</sup> and is in vogue among the foreign Gypsies now in England. Both principles are illustrated in the tree given above. Wester Boswell and Tom and Charlie Lee counted to the Chilcott clan by virtue of marriage into it; Walter Young by virtue of descent; and Noah Young and Kenza Boswell by both. Nor were any of the female descendants of John Chilcott unrepresented, since Celia and Bella, the only two

<sup>1</sup> *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 162.

<sup>2</sup> *Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke*, pp. 61-68.

<sup>3</sup> *Aus dem Winterleben der Wanderzigeuner*, p. 6.

daughters not mentioned on the tree given above, had died childless. It is significant too that Wester's oldest son, Būi, whose mother was a Herne, was not included; for by the same rule Būi should be counted to the Herne clan; for, if the wife dies, the husband reverts to his original clan, and is at liberty to marry into a third, but the children remain in their mother's family. It is, to say the least of it, remarkable that so close an analogy to this foreign Gypsy law should be traceable in the case of the only large band of English Gypsies in recent times about which much is known; and, though it would be rash to assert the existence of the law in England without further evidence in support of it, the possibility of its existence is certainly worth attention.

## V.—A SEVENTH BULGARIAN GYPSY FOLK-TALE

Recorded by BERNARD GILLIAT-SMITH

### *Introduction*

The following small tale, known as the *Chaidkeri Paramisi*, was dictated to me, shortly before my departure from Sofia at the end of the year 1909, by Paši Suljoff's daughter, then five years old. As an interesting experiment, as well as for another reason which the diligent reader will discover for himself, it is here printed in Nágari letters, the transcription having been kindly made by Professor A. C. Woolner. He wishes me to state that the 'long' vowels have been used as representing more correctly the position, though they do not represent the duration, of the Gypsy sounds, and that diacritical dots distinguish the letters *x* and *ř*.

सीने येक् फूरो या येक् फूरी ॥ ए फूरेस्केरी कोलीवा लोनेस्तार् । ए फूयाकेरी कोलीवा खूदे मीझातार् ॥ बीछान्दुयाम् ई फूरी पे छावेम् ॥ जा को फूरो या पे माङ्गेस् येक् डोई लोन् या पे छीवाम् आन्दो खावे ॥ गेलो ओ छावो माङ्गन्याम् नाना दीन्याम् ओ फूरो ॥ जख्वेल् ई फूरी । वाकरेल् ए देव्लेक्के ते देल् ब्रीशीन् ते बीलाल् ए फूरेस्केरी कोलीवा ॥ दीन्याम् ब्रीशीन् ॥ बीलानीली ए फूरेस्केरी कोलीवा ॥

लीत्याम् पेस् ओ फूरो हेदे हेदे पाश् ई फूरी ॥

फूरोड़ीयेले फूरीये । छी मान् पालाल् तूते ॥ आब्री खेरा आन्दे खेरा छीव् तूत पालाल् ओ वूदार् ॥ छीत्याम् पेम् ॥ पाले ओ फूरो । फूरोड़ीयेले फूरीये । छीय मान् पालाल् ते हूमेस् ॥ ई फूरी । आब्री खेरा आन्दे खेरा छीव् तूत पालाल् मे हूमेस् ॥ छीवेल् पेम् ओ फूरो पालाल् ओ हूमो लेल् येक् कोतोर् गोव् छीवेल् आन्दी मीच् ओ फूरो ॥ लीत्याम् ई फूरी आन्दी फूव् ते मारेल् पेम् ॥ देल् ओ फूरो पीडेसा नाशती तीकालेल् । देल् नाकेसा नाशती तीकालेल् । देल् छीवामा नाशती तीकालेल् । देल् पे काडेसा ईकालेल् लेम् ॥

## VI.—THE CRIMINAL AND WANDERING TRIBES OF INDIA

By H. L. WILLIAMS of the Indian Police

### PART I.—GENESIS AND TRIBAL PARTICULARS

#### 1. *Origin from the Sanskrit Writings*

THE aborigines who inhabited India at the time of the Aryan invasion are named in the *Rig Veda* Dasyus, Asúras, Rákshásas, and Syúms. Mention is made of another race, the Piśácas, who were addicted to cannibalism and lived in the north. The Asúras and Dasyus are described as black-skinned, and the Piśácas as tawny-coloured.

Long and bloody were the struggles between the Áryas and the aborigines. The wars between the Áryas and the Dasyus and Asúras were called *Dev-Asúra Sangrám*. The Áryas called themselves Devas, or gods, and all the others demons. They also styled all who were not Aryan as *Anárya*, or non-Aryan. The Dev-Asúra War took place in the north. The Dasyus, Asúras, and Piśácas fought desperately for hearth and home, and the numerous invocations for victory in the Vedic hymns prove how great were the difficulties the Áryas had to encounter before they finally subdued the darker races. The issue of the conflict seems to have been that the Dasyus and the Asúras, who were probably Kolarians, were driven east, and the Piśácas farther north. Later on there was another war called the *Rám-Rávana Sangrám*, this time against the Rákshásas. These, who were Dravidians, dispersed to the south of the Vindhya-Satpura range. 'Till lately,' observes the learned Dr. Hunter,<sup>1</sup> 'the Gonds buried their dead with the feet turned northwards, so as to be ready to start again for their ancient home in the north.' These aborigines dwelt in cities built of stone, and possessed horses, cattle, and chariots. Moreover, Srukta and other Asúras had seven-walled cities, and the first mention of an elephant in the Vedas was a tame one, the property of an Asúra. So that the nations named above were no nomads, or Gypsy-like tribes.

Later on, apparently, the Dasyus, who remained in the Indo-Gangetic plain, and the Áryas became reconciled, for the *Rig*

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Panjab*, by Syed Muhamad Latif, Calcutta, 1891, p. 20.

*Veda* says, 'Know ye there are two orders of men—Áryas and Dasyus.' When the *Manava Dharma Śāstra*, the 'Institutes of Manu,' came to be written, there had been added a fourth order of the Árya community, formed out of the Dasyus and others who had been subdued, or who had submitted, and it was called Śudra. The term Mleĉha was conferred on the irreconcilables. The Gypsy-like nomads have to this day remained irreconcilable. Manu fixed their limits<sup>1</sup> when he wrote: 'The tract between the Himávat and the Vindhya, to the east of Vinasana (where the Saraswati terminates, losing itself in the Great Desert), is called the Central region, Madhya-desa. The space between these two mountain ranges, to the Eastern and Western Sea, the wise know as Aryavarta. Where the black antelope naturally grazes is held to be the proper land for offering sacrifices; all else is Mlecha land. Let the twice born carefully keep within these limits, but a Shudra, distressed for subsistence, may dwell anywhere.' The Śudra theory of the origin of the Gypsies is not sustainable, because the character and habits of the respective peoples are totally different. The Áryas of the Madhya-desa, *i.e.* east of the Saraswati, looked on the people of the Panjáb, their ancient home, with scorn. They called them Pálikas, *i.e.* 'excluded,' and Vratyas, or 'heretics.' An historian remarks that this shows the arrogance of the Brahmans of the Ganges, who thus wished to ignore the common link between themselves and the Áryas of the Panjáb.<sup>2</sup> But the reason is not far to seek. The Árya settlers of the Panjáb took wives from the Mleĉhas and had domestic relations with them and broke the impenetrable barriers of castehood, a fact which is perfectly obvious at the present time.

As all know, the ancient Aryans were divided into four castes, the Bráhmanas, Kśatriyas, Vaisyas, and Śudras. The last caste was the servile one, made up of reconciled aborigines. 'Below all four, *i.e.* below the Shudras,' writes Professor Rhys Davids,<sup>3</sup> 'we have mention of other low tribes and low trades—*hina jātiyo* and *hina sippani*. Among the first we are told of workers in rushes, bird-catchers, and cart-makers. Among the latter, mat-makers, barbers, potters, weavers, and leather-makers.' Below these low trades again came the Čandálas and Pukkusars, or, as we might say nowadays, Čangar and Pakkhiwás, more despised even than

<sup>1</sup> Book II., v. 17-24.

<sup>2</sup> *History of the Panjab*, by Syed Muhamad Latif, Calcutta, 1891, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> *Buddhist India*, by Rhys Davids, London (Fisher Unwin), 1903, p. 54.

they. It is these Čandála and Pukkusar regarding whom it was ordained in the *Institutes of Manu*, chapter x., that (1) their abodes should be outside the limits of towns; (2) their sole property was to consist of dogs and asses; (3) their only clothes should be those left by the dead; (4) their ornaments should be rusty iron; (5) they should wander from place to place; (6) no respectable person should hold any intercourse with them; and (7) they were to perform the office of executioners in the case of criminals condemned to death by the king. For this duty they might retain the bedding, clothes, and ornaments of those executed. These lowest tribes of all are mentioned in the *Manu Smṛiti*, but no detailed account is given of them, and they are identical with the so-called 'Gypsies' of India of the present day. Manu defines a Čandála to be the offspring of a Śudra and a woman of the priestly caste, by which the sage probably meant that such offspring could gain admission only to the community of the Čandálas. The Śudras gave up eating beef, but the Mlečas and Čandálas fed alike on all flesh and ate beef openly. They ate foxes and jackals, porcupine, and even lizards and other vermin. The Śāstras condemn wine as sinful. Among the Čandálas no ceremony was complete without drinking and dancing. They even sacrificed living human beings. Their institutions were patriarchal, unlike those of the Hindus, whose civil institutions were all municipal, and the Čandálas had no priesthood.

When the Greeks came to India, the condition of the aborigines had undergone no material change, for we learn from Megasthenes that the primitive Indians were nomadic; they did not till the soil, but subsisted on such produce as the earth yielded spontaneously, or on such wild animals as they could kill. And they have remained in this condition, on through intervening ages, to the present time, as Sir William Hunter remarks: 'Many of the aboriginal tribes remain in the same early stage of human progress as that ascribed to them by the Vedic poets more than 3000 years ago.'<sup>1</sup>

## 2. *The Habitat of the Indian Criminal and Wandering Nomads*

There is probably nowhere in the world a climate and a zone so well fitted by nature to be the habitat of peripatetic tribes of wandering hunters and fowlers, which is what all Indian 'Gypsies'

<sup>1</sup> *Vedic India*, by Z. A. Ragozin, London (Fisher Unwin), 1895, p. 299.

are, as the Indo-Gangetic Plain. To give an instance, in the year 1840 of the Hindu era of Vikramaditya, roughly one hundred and thirty years ago, there occurred the disastrous *śāliśa kāl*, the famine of the year forty. In the neighbourhood of Hissār Fīroza, one hundred miles to the west of Dehli, twelve villages were so devastated that there did not remain one human creature to claim the soil. Sixty-four square miles became so overgrown with rank jungle, trees, shrubs, and grass as to be impenetrable even to cattle; the space swarmed with wild animals of every description, and 'Gypsies' took up their abode in it. This Hissār area lapsed to the Crown, and, at the present day, is included in the limits of the Government Cattle Farm. Although numbered with those that are arid, it produces berries and fruits, among which those of the *Salvadora oleoides* provide nourishment palatable to the aborigines during the hot months. Up to the time of the Balban kings—1266 A.D.—the country around Dehli was impenetrable jungle. Ghiásuddin Balban 'cleared the forest, and at a sacrifice of 100,000 men turned the haunt of bushrangers into a peaceable agricultural district.'<sup>1</sup> The bushrangers referred to were the wandering and criminal nomads called Kanjars, whose descendants still haunt the Pahārganj suburb of Dehli, but whose numbers with every decade become fewer.

The Indo-Gangetic Plain is still a favourite haunt of nomads, and is called by them their *deś*. This territory is a boundless, alluvial plain, broken here and there by low hills and ravines, otherwise seemingly limitless. Its vast expanse bears grasses from the lofty *sarkanda*, a species of pampas, to the scrubby and lowly *dab* and the nutritious *dub*. Trees, where not planted and cared for, are scarce owing to continued deforestation. In dry parts, the commonest species are the *kīkar* (*Acacia arabica*), and, in lands subject to inundation, the tamarix (*Tamarix articulata*). Indigenous brushwood and shrubs are common, including the *dhāk* (*Butea frondosa*), with gorgeous scarlet blooms in spring; the *berī* (*Zizyphus jujuba*), on the berries of which jackals feed; the *jand* (*Prosopis spicigera*), etc. In the dry and cold season, the plain is drained by sluggish rivers, which, in the rains, are in flood and overflow their banks. In the monsoon, the depressions in the plain are filled with water, the extent of which shrinks in the dry season, but there is still enough all the year round to offer a home to myriads of water-birds and wild fowl.

<sup>1</sup> *Medieval India*, by Stanley Lane Poole, London (Fisher Unwin), 1906, p. 81.

On the prairie, deer, antelopes, hares, and all kinds of winged game abound. This expanse is the native land of the Indian 'Gypsy,' who, as hunter and fowler, has not his equal. With his thonged nooses, he snares the antelope; with his traps he catches the porcupine, the jackal, and the fox, and feeds on them; and with net, spear, and dogs he overcomes the wild pig. Holes in the ground are the abiding places of snakes, iguanas, and the broad-tailed lizard (*sanda*), all of which he captures in a very ingenious manner. From the fat of the tail of the last, the 'Gypsy' prepares unguents and curative oils, and the flesh is not to be despised.

### 3. *Difficulties in the Path of Research*

The Indian Criminal and Wandering Nomads are a most shy and reticent people. To extract some of their secrets requires years of patient and painstaking labour, and many a time one is foiled and has to begin all over again. Some years ago I wrote a treatise, quite an elaborate one, on a tribe called Kučband. Subsequently, I found out that Kučband were no other than Badiya, an account of whom I had given previously. Each tribe has a jargon of its own, unintelligible to others, and some have a name for the tribe unknown to any one else. For instance, there is a race of Indian nomads which calls itself Bhántu, but very few people know this fact, and the Indian police are hardly yet alive to it; the men they call *Bhántu*, their women *Bhatáni*, and the stranger they call a *Kájá*. Among the *Kájás* this people are known by a multitude of names, and the names vary every hundred or so miles of space. This is what happens:—Say Massánia's Bhántu camp is in Oudh. People will say, 'Here are the Berihas.' Massánia treks to Aligarh; the public of Aligarh will exclaim, 'Here come the Habúras.' In Dehli and Karnál, no one will have any doubt that Massánia's people are Kanjars. In Ferozepur, they become Kikan; in Multán, Gedari; and in Sindh, Gidiya. Massánia will acquiesce in this nomenclature because it suits him to do so. But all these names are in bad repute, and, if Massánia is hard pressed, and the *Kájás* gather together with bludgeons and sharp-edged instruments to attack and drive him away, he will protest that he and all his people are Čangar (the name by which the basket-makers go), and the *Kájás* may, or may not, be appeased.

Another remarkable peculiarity of the Bhántu is that every individual has a name for home-use within the tribe and quite



another name for the edification of the *Kāṣa*, or stranger. One of my methods of getting at the truth is this:—On arrival at a Bhāntu camp, I have the children at once removed to a distance, while the men and women are formed into two groups apart and their names taken down in writing. Thence to the children. I take a five-year-old behind a screen and ask it to point out its father. 'By what name does your uncle call your father?' Most Anglo-Indians will appreciate the use of this form of question rather than, 'By what name does your mother, etc.?'

One fact is of great assistance to all inquirers, and that is that every Indian, especially if he belong to one of the more primitive races, has a pedigree (*pīri*), an ancestral name (*ḡaddi*), and a clan or sept (*gotra* or *got*). The first cardinal rule of the *gotra* system is that a man must marry outside his father's *got*. A case in point:—I have been for many years trying to find a tribe which, on its own domestic hearth and in the privacy of the family, calls itself Čangar. I have never found such a tribe. This is what has happened:—Pursuant to my orders, a Čangar tribe has been located and I have ridden out to interview it: 'Who are you?' 'We are Čangars.' 'Recite me your *ḡaddis* and *gots*.' 'They are so-and-so.' 'But these are the *ḡaddis* and *gots* of the Baṛar.' 'But we *are* Baṛar.'

Another instance:—A wandering tribe is known throughout many districts as Bangāli. Only a couple of years ago I met it, for the first time, near Nagroṭa, in the Kāngra District. There were two camps under Kharkali and Dopha. 'Who are you?' 'We are Bangāli.' 'Can you speak Bengali?' 'No, we are Ḍoms.' 'Then produce your *tabl*, *saringhi*, and *sitār* (musical instruments), and your musicians and dancing girls.' This was done. Their pedigree was next compared with those of other tribes, and as the result I exclaimed: 'Why, you are Bediyas!' 'Yes, we are *Badige*.'<sup>1</sup> I have sought also for pure, unalloyed Ḍoms, and I have never found them. I believe that Ḍom merely means a professional musician, that the term is occupational, applied to any and every outcaste tribe, and that the great majority of Ḍom musicians are Badia, Bediya, or Badige.

#### 4. *The Real Identity of the Gypsy-like Wandering Tribes*

All are of a common stock, the ancient abode of all was the Great Plain, and all resolve themselves into one or other of the

<sup>1</sup> This is how they pronounce Beṛiḡa, Bediya, Beṛiya, and Bedia.

following groups:—(1) Bhántu, (2) Badiya, (3) Banjára, (4) Baoriah, (5) Biloč, and (6) Bhangī or Čúhṛa. All carry a knowledge of Hindustáni to the outermost points of their wanderings, to Canarese, Telugu, and Tamil-speaking countries, and all are collectively spoken of by the people of India as *Tapribáš*, *Pakhiwás*, *Čangar-Pakhiwás*, *Čangar-Dom*, *Kanjar-Dom*, and such-like expressions.

### 5. Classification of Races and Tribes

1. *Bhántu*.—For turpitude and downright devilry there is not a race in the whole continent to compare with the Bhántu. Its original habitat appears to have lain in the western portion of the Indo-Gangetic Plain between the Araváli Hills and the Indus. Now it is ubiquitous all over India. Among some of the names by which Bhántus are known to the other inhabitants are—Kanjar, Sánsi, Sánsiya (U.P.), Kíkan, Bhedghuṭ, Gedari, Habúra, Gídiya (Sindh), Beríha or Bediya (U.P.), Mormár, Čhapparband (Bombay), Bámpṭa (Bombay), Bámtia, Ghágaria, Čirokharúsál (Bengal), etc., etc. The Sánsis belong more especially to the Central Panjáb; the branch known as Kanjar to the neighbourhood of Dehli, and the Beríhas to the Púrab, or Eastern United Provinces.<sup>1</sup>

The whole race is divided into two exogamous divisions named Málá and Bíḍú in the north, and Kárka and Mahes in the east. The sons of a Málá may only marry the daughters of a Bíḍú, and *vice versa*. Mahes may marry Málá but not Bíḍú, and Kárka may marry Bíḍú, or Mahes, but not Málá. The leading tribal divisions (known only to themselves) are—Haṛar, Baṛar, Langáh, Kopaṭ, Tetla, Gaduwára, Čanduwára, Bánswára, Báneke, Gadan, Gátu, Bhúra, Gehála, Timáiči, Jojhya, Belia, Kothan, Pátia, Dursa, Raičand, Bhána, and a few more. The *gotras* vary according to whether the tribe has an itinerary in Jaṭ, Raĵpút, or Gújar country, and are too numerous to recapitulate here.

<sup>1</sup> There is some doubt as to the classification of the Beríhas, written by Kennedy Bédias, and elsewhere as Beriṇas or Bediyas. They are always found consorting with Bhántus, have Gújar and Jhiwar *gots*, and are divided into Málá and Bíḍú. In consequence I have accepted the opinion of Mr. J. P. Warburton of my service, probably the greatest living authority on the subject, and placed them in the Bhántu class. On the other hand they call themselves Badge, and, like Badiyas, say they are Bangáli: they exhibit snakes which Bhántus do not do, and are acrobats which Sánsis (Bhántus) never are. The Badiyas nowadays have Raĵput *gots* and will have nothing to do with Bhántus; and my own theory is that the Beríhas are primitive Badiyas, a section which split off before the latter raised themselves in the social scale. I may mention here that Bhátu is merely a provincial way of pronouncing Bhántu.

The tradition of their origin among the Bhántus is the following:—‘We are the children of Indar. Of the descendants of the God, there was one who was a Rājāh named Sensi or Sāns Mal. Sensi committed a sin for which he was punished by being afflicted with leprosy. He was outcasted and banished and compelled to live in the jungles with his sons and his sons’ wives, and their children were forced to intermarry; hence, now the descendants of Málá have to marry the children of Bídú and the reverse. Málá had eleven sons and Bídú twelve, and from them sprang all the tribes of the Bhántus.’ Let us compare this with the version told by a section of the Bediyas who are called Bangáli Bediyas. They say: ‘Málá had two sons, Bídú and Čhádi. From Bídú sprang a tribe of Bediya and the Baoriahs. Málá’s second son was posthumous, and it was suspected that Málá was not the father. When Málá’s widow was delivered of this child, she, in order to conceal her shame, concealed the child in a pigsty. There Čhádi was found by a Čúhṛa (Bhangi) who adopted him. Čhádi’s offspring were the Bhántus and the Bangáli Bediyas.’

The Berihās (Bhántus of the East), who are the same as the Bediyas, Bedias, or Beriyas named elsewhere, trace their descent from (1) Kárkha, (2) Bídú, (3) Málá, and (4) Čhádi. The Kanjar-Doms are of the same stock, but identify themselves especially with an ancestor named Malu Dant. Another version has it that the Bhántus, the Badiyas, and the Bhils are descendants of one Rāja Ben, ancestor of Sensi.

Bhántus travel about in gangs of varying strength with their families, bullocks, cows, buffaloes, donkeys, ponies, sheep, goats, and poultry; the pack-animals laden with tents, tent-poles, quilts, cooking utensils, and household goods and chattels. The men are dressed gaudily with peacocks’ feathers in their turbans, their ears bored for large glass ear-rings, and rosaries round their necks. The women are attired in bright, parti-coloured skirts and bodices, pale blue, red, and green; decked out in bangles and sequins, sham or real, and the children in rags, but all wearing amulets and phylacteries if nothing else. When the *dera*, or camp, decides to halt, tents are pitched and cooking pots are suspended over the fires; pack-animals are taken out to graze by the girls, or let loose to ravage the Jāts’ fields; parties of men with nets and traps go to capture jackals and hares for the evening meal, cats (*dhabṛa*) are not unacceptable, and groups of women make for the nearest town or village, to sell spurious coins, charms, and trinkets, or,

accompanied by musicians carrying the *tabl* (drum) and *saringhi* (fiddle), to earn a wage by song and dance. Surreptitiously or otherwise, according to the locality, a mart is opened for the disposal of stolen property.

The tents are of two kinds, the *pakkhis* of cloth supported on curved sticks, or bent bamboos, and the flaps kept in place by large iron needles; and the *sirkis*, on upright supports, with roofs of the *sarkanda* matting, which is carried about in rolls. In their *khurjīs*, or travelling sacks, the Bhāntus carry various kinds of smoked and dried meat, in strips, a kind of biltong. They are excessively fond of liquor, and are hard smokers.

The Kanjar-Sānsi women are fair and comely, but very bold and talkative; many Beriha women are dark and ugly. The latter practise prostitution, and of the morality of the former it need only be said that it is loose. The women surrender themselves to a libidinous act for the good of their tribe, either to men in power who can do harm to their people, or to men of substance who can confer a benefit. The young women are experts in singing and dancing, and exercise a peculiar charm of manner.

The tribe is atrociously criminal, but all the grave and heinous crime is committed by a band of young bloods who remain outside the camp and only join it at night when they give and receive warning signals in which the cries of wild animals are imitated. Some branches of this tribe are brush-makers, and manufacture sieves and winnowing baskets. In Jāt country, the Bhāntus are called *Sānsi-Bhāts* and *Jāt-kā-Bhāt*, and fulfil the functions of genealogists, bards, and minstrels. For this cause, they are termed also *Rehluwālās*.

In the summer months (this season is probably chosen because the periodical rains make travelling difficult) tribes of Bhāntus gather from all parts at the graves of their ancestors, where they perform religious ceremonies, settle tribal and individual disputes and causes through their Councils of Elders, and arrange marriages. The *pañāyats*, or councils, are held with great secrecy, but the issues of suits and criminal charges are undoubtedly decided by an ordeal. Of *pāna-patra*, or a system of secret marks and signs, some for marking the trail, this tribe are the past masters. At the great assemblies, the numbers run into many hundreds, and when in their cups, men and women are both very quarrelsome, so that free fights often occur. Ordinarily, a camp, called among this people a *dera*, contains from half-a-dozen to a score of families.

Their religion is ancestor worship and animism, and oaths are taken in the name of an ancestor.

Their language is Hindustáni, but they have also a thieves' *patois* called *Bhátu*, which is usually capable of easy analysis, though it contains a number of words from some obscure source which have been preserved by the tribes in their wanderings.

In disguises, this people are adept, and the commonest adopted are those of Brahman ascetics. In such disguise they frequent religious festivals, fairs, temples, and railway stations. Adept also are they at *bájápan* and *khelípan* (music and song); *čortípan* and *khokhápan* (theft and trickery), and in *bahípan* (fortune-telling and sleight of hand).

A Bhántu on the lay can never sit or keep his eyes still. His alert and hawk-like glances are always taking stock of persons and things. He possesses also a powerful and retentive memory. Children are early initiated into ways of theft and cheating, and a boy may not tie a turban till the end of his probation, when he becomes a *pagband* (turbaned thief) or fellow-craftsman. There is a system of freemasonry by which Bhántus recognise one another, and their intelligence service is perfect.

The men are above middle height, with olive or brown complexions, lithe and agile figures, and delicate hands and feet. They are swift runners, and capable of bearing great fatigue. I will give an instance of Bhántu endurance:—A friend of mine wished to send his dog from Siálkot to Murree in the Hills. The dog was made over to an Indian official who made it over to a Sánísi, with a strict injunction to deliver the dog without loss of time. The Sánísi and dog started early one morning on a bee line and arrived at Murree at sundown next day, doing fifty miles a day as the crow flies. The dog was half dead, but the Sánísi not much the worse.

2. *Badiya*, *Badia*, or *Badge*.—This race is commonly called *Dom*, *Dúm*, *Mirássi*, *Sapaida*, and other names. It calls itself *Badiya*, its women *Badáni* (not far removed from *Bhatáni*), and the stranger *Kája*. *Dom*, usually Hindu, implies a musician,<sup>1</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> I may explain here the difference between *Dom* and *Dúm*. There is none between the terms, though there may be between the parties. In Musalman countries the word is always rendered *Dúm*, because the Muslim has in his alphabet only one letter *waw* to express the sound of *o*, *au*, and *ú*, and the last sound is preferred. The *Mirássi* are always spoken of as *Dúm*, and the *Dom* and *Domna* as *Dom*. Regarding the *Domna* matmakers, it must be added that, in some parts of the country, they have improved their status and are considered a cut above *Čuhras* and equal to *Čamárs* (leather-workers). *Dúm* may, in short, be said to be the

Mirássi, always a Muslim, means a genealogist. The following are the tribal divisions and *gotras*:—

1. Ráhtor 8 *gots* Karamsoť, Dharamsoť, Barnoť, Bhalka, Ĵona, Ramseť, Ĵolkot, and Báslot.
2. Panwár 2 *gots* Grábha and Čairot.
3. Túnwar 3 *gots* Biľlot, Maháwat, and Marsoť.
4. Čohán 4 *gots* Lahodia, Kurvah, Pálhit, and Sewat.

The Badiyas are not by any means so reticent or so secretive about their affairs as the Bhántus, nor are they so criminal. The tribe has practically two branches, Badiya-Doms (musicians, genealogists, bards, and Bháťs) and Badiya-Naťs (the *Panĵpíri* of Richardson,<sup>1</sup> acrobats and jugglers). Included in the second category are the Kučband (brush-makers), Sapaida (snake-charmers, who call themselves Bangáli, Badiya, and Kannipan Ĵogi), Sikligar (cutlers and knife-grinders), Bhánd and Rásdhári (actors and strolling players), Kaikádi (brush-makers, of the Deccan), and Kučádi (musicians, mat-weavers, and basket-makers). Probably also the Khíčak, Korwár, Pámilor, and other tribes.

The class of Naťs calling themselves Baťania broke off from the main body a few generations ago. These have some additional *gots* of Mánka, Čhápa, Gaur, and Káliye. The Baťanias are a very amiable people, lively and good-humoured, having buxom and chaste women, wanting totally in the lascivious glance and wanton expression of the Bhatánis (Bhántu women). Naťs are cleaner feeders than the others. Like the Bhántus they build masonry graves over their dead, and worship and perform religious rites at them.

Perna and Nat Perna, who have already been referred to under the names of Bediya and Beřiha, claim to belong to the same family. They are, both men and women, good acrobats, but a scandalously immoral people. Bangáli Badiyas are also cuppers and leeches. These are R. B. Mitra's people, who were cast out by the Kolarian Santáls on suspicion of the illegitimacy of one of their ancestors.<sup>2</sup>

Muslim converts from among the Badiya and Čúhra musicians. A good many are Perna, or, in other words members of the Beřiha-Bediya species, in my view Badiyas with a slight change of name and some change of habits. See footnote, p. 40, where I argue that Beřihas, who really call themselves Bediyas, can be no other than Badiyas, who have long consorted with Kanĵar Sásnis and adopted their exogamous divisions of Málá and Biđú. How they came by their name of Perna I am unable to say.

<sup>1</sup> *Asiatic Researches*, Calcutta, 1801, vol. vii. p. 460.

<sup>2</sup> *Memoirs of the Anthropological Society*, London, 1870, vol. iii.

Badiyas lead a nomadic Gypsy-like life, but their tents and reed-huts are more permanent and stationary than those of the Bhántus, and may be seen for weeks and even months in the same place. They are the bards and pedigree-keepers of the Rájputs and Gújars, as the Bhántus are of the Játs. The camps of both present much the same appearance on the move with their horned cattle, donkeys, ponies, dogs, and fowls. They also have a slang formed on a basis of Hindustáni, of which Richardson gives examples,<sup>1</sup> and are as good as Bhántus at imitating the cries of animals and at capturing them. Badiya men have a dark brown glossy skin, are above middle height, and wear large ear-rings and the ochre-coloured dress of the Jogi ascetics. They eat all flesh but cow, and both men and women are inveterate smokers, and indulge in bouts of liquor. There is a spirit of keen enmity and rivalry between Badiyas and Bhántus. The camps of both people are called *dera*, and the headmen *Čaudhari*, or *Mukhia*. The charge of anthropophagy made against Bhántus is not made against Badiyas.

The original abode of the Badiyas would seem to have been in the eastern portion of the Great Plain. The Shímárs are Badiyas.

3. *Banjárá*.—Commonly known by this name and as Brinjára, Lambána, Lambádi, Labána, Wanjárá, Mathuria, etc. The offshoots of this tribe are Háris, Moras, Aheris, Thoris, Náiks, Pakkhiwáras, Čimárs, Dháris, Sonáris, Ods, and others. The *gotra* classification closely approaches that of the Badiyas, and includes Túnwar, Paṇwár, Bhaṭṭi, Ráhtor, Čohán, Čáran, and so forth; with this difference that, whereas among the Badiyas Čohán are most numerous, among these people Čáran and Bhaṭṭi head the list in point of numbers.

Although some of the offshoots are sad scoundrels, the tribe as a body is not conspicuously distinguished for crime. On the contrary, some Banjárás are gifted with admirable qualities, and are very industrious and law-abiding. Vast numbers have settled down in recent times, and are even the owners of broad acres: under the name of Labána Sikhs they are making good soldiers, and many are employed as bailiffs, custodians, and guardians of property.

The salvation of this tribe came to pass centuries ago when they turned their pack-animals to profitable account and became

<sup>1</sup> *Asiatic Researches*, Calcutta, 1801, vol. vii. p. 461.

the carriers of grain and merchandise. They conveyed supplies to the Emperor Aurangzeb's army during his Deccan campaign, and they carried Wellington's Commissariat in the Marhatta War. Railways have ruined their carrying trade, but they have found other honest means of livelihood. The Banjára is, if I may so describe it, the aristocrat among all the Indian 'Gypsies.'

The Banjára camp is called a *tánda*, and the leader is always addressed as *Náik*, or Corporal. Kennedy, in his work on Bombay criminal classes,<sup>1</sup> describes the men as 'tall, sturdy, well-built, capable of enduring long and fatiguing marches, . . . often fair, with nothing in their appearance and dress to distinguish them from other cultivating classes. . . . In parts, the costume of the men and the type of physiognomy conform to those of Márwád Rajputs or Maráthas of good family.' The women, he says, are 'of superior physique, and not without claim to good looks.' In certain tribes, 'they are bold and talkative.' They dress in bright-coloured *ghágras* or kilts, in blue and red colours with *odnis* [*orhnis*], or head scarfs, embroidered and ornamented with beads, shells, and circular and oval bits of looking-glass; 'quaint stiff bodices, loose in front, open at the back, and more like a breast-plate; . . . bracelets extending to the elbow or even higher; numerous brass anklets; their ear-rings, and the variety of the ornaments which embellish their hair plaited at the back, combine to make a quaint yet interesting picture. The hair on either side of the face is also plaited into tails which are finished off with metal pendants, . . . a piece of horn or stick, about nine inches long, is fastened into the hair on the top of the head. The end of the *odni* [*orhni*] passing over this spike imparts an almost comical effect. This *shing*, as it is called, is worn only by married women whose husbands are living.' A very picturesque people.

'Banjara *tandas*,' he says, in another place, 'are well guarded by a number of large Banjara dogs of a well-known and special breed.'

Their dialect is called Banjári, and is, like all the others, constructed on a basis of Hindustáni, but assimilates the tongue of the country in which the tribe happens to be. It contains a good many Bágri words.

Like the Bhántus, the Banjáras have general clan gatherings, and, being an excitable people, quarrel a good deal among them-

<sup>1</sup> *Notes on Criminal Classes in the Bombay Presidency*, by Michael Kennedy, Bombay, 1908, pp. 3-4.



selves and indulge in free fights, especially after a bout of spirituous liquor, of which the women also partake. They are, however, open and above-board, and not reticent about their affairs when information is sought as to their tribal arrangements, manners, and customs. They are not such expert hunters and trappers as the Bhántus and Baoriahs, and some tribes have lost a good deal of their skill in shikar.

The Aheri, Thori, Náik, and Ođ branches come in swarms when canal-excavation and railway-earthwork has to be done. They take up contracts to do the work by cubic measurement, on business principles, and labour assiduously. The *kána* tents may then be seen and the *ťándas* dotting the plain for miles. I entirely disagree in the opinion that those so employed plunder the neighbouring villages by night. Villagers are free from concern regarding the safety of crops, grain, or goods, when this kind of Banjára is about.

The language of the Ođs is Ođki, a variant of Banjári with some Bágri words thrown in. Within the square formed by the old Rájput fortresses of Bhaťinda, Fázilka, Bhaťner, and Hánsi, the Ođs may be seen in the winter months herding myriads of sheep and goats which they collect up-country, and, taking toll of the wool only, return to the owners fattened with the lambs and kids born on the pastures.

Hárnis require a special mention, being in the first class of thieves and robbers, and of hunters and trappers. Their *gotras* are Túnwar, Čohán, Gújar, Malak, Barang, Sanghaira, Lir, Laddar, Nandika, Pañwár. The connecting link between them and the Bangáli Bediyas and Beřiyas are the Sanghaira and Laddar *gots*, and Sánsis come in somewhere, probably at Nandika. I take this people to be a fusion of Banjáras with outsiders. How they go in numbers to Súrat in Bombay, from their home in Ĵagráon, and to Haidarábád in the Deccan (Dakkhan); how they transfer the proceeds of crime to their homes by postal-orders, parcel-post, and railway; how they pass themselves off as religious ascetics, jugglers, and acrobats, Dom musicians and other characters, and how skilled they are as burglars, are all told in the police-chronicles. Included in this tribe are the famous female criminals called *Gauni-márs* from Kiri village. These women, disguised as Kšatri widows, sit by the highway, dissolved in tears, to attract the notice of some wealthy Hindu. Their dupes, seeing they are beautiful, take them home, and they live as concubines for years, bearing

children, but finally decamp alone to the tribe with all their protector's valuables.

Pakkhíwára, Čiřimár (fowler), or Meo, are first cousins to the Hárnis. A party caught me napping in 1908, and, under the guise of merchants, engaged a house in the city of Multán. The result was a burglary at the Prahládpuri Temple, which left the God naked and the Chief-Priest (*Mahant*) and the monks accusing each other of dishonesty.

The country of origin of the Banjáras lay north of the Vindhya-Satpura range. Beyond this it is impossible to say anything with certainty. They have some Bhíl blood. The pure Banjára is not truculent like the Bhántu, nor cringing like the Dom, nor foul and unclean like both. The Banjára can be a gentleman, the others cannot. There are splendid specimens of Pakkhiwára humanity, who justify the race name Hárni, 'invincible.' The account of Afghan and Rájput origin given by the last is a grandmother's tale, and they are certainly 'Gypsy' aborigines.

Banjáras in some form or other are found all over India. The Gádía Lohárs, peripatetic blacksmiths, who travel about with carts, and the Hesis, also blacksmiths, belong to this people. The last is the only branch I have met in the Himálayas, where they are found even in Tibet.

4. *Baoriahs*. — Known variously, in different parts of the country, as Bawariahs, Báolis, Párdhis, Badhaks, Bágoras, Bágris, Vághris, Thákurgars, Mugias, Márwáris, Málpuras, Khairwádas, and Surkhowárs; this is nevertheless all one homogenous tribe, to which the name in the heading has been bestowed by itself. Its country of origin is Rájputana, and there are ten tribal divisions, namely, Deswáli, Bidáwati or Bigoti, Káلكamlia, Nagauri, Dilliwal, Gandhíla, Paundla, Kápria, Jákhay, and Dhandoti. The *gotras* are Čohán, Pařwár, Bháři, Solankhe, Ráhtaur, Dhándal, Sánkla, Sádiřa, Čáran, Parmár, Bargúřar, Maráwat, Sunáwat, Dhol Paćwaia, Pařiár, and some more. With a knowledge of their *gotra* system a history of the people could be constructed; but on this one point there need be no doubt, that they arose from a fusion between the 'Gypsies' of Rájputána and the Bhíls. The former parent-race being the common ancestors of the Badiyas, the Banjáras, and the Baoriahs.

The male Baoriahs are quite unlike those of the other two races named, being below the medium height, undersized, very dark-skinned, and puny in shape. To this there are few excep-

tions. In compensation, they are agile and have keen senses. The young women, who are also almost always dark-skinned, are not without claims to good looks, but soon age and become shrivelled. They are very noisy and loquacious. At home, they show traces of utter degradation and poverty, though they may be rolling in riches. All Baoriahs, of both sexes, bear on their persons the marks of branding with red-hot irons. They brand for every ailment, from colic to cholera, or pneumonia.

The dress needs no very special description, being scanty, and like that of the peasants in the country of their abode: but the women always wear the skirt and never trousers. Men wear a silver, or steel, bangle on the right ankle, as do all Rājputs. It is, however, in disguises that the Baoriahs have not a peer, adopting most often the name and attire of Gaur Brahmans. There is no part of India which is free from periodical visits of the Baoriahs.

The leaders are called *kamāo*, or bread-winner. Like the other 'Gypsy' tribes, they herd together in the rainy season to settle their tribal affairs, and during the rest of the year remain on the move. The clan-gatherings of the Baoriahs are called *Deokuran*. Much food is eaten, liquor drunk, and a buffalo sacrificed. Their tents are of the *pāl* kind, and made of bamboo staves and blanket-ing. The camps may contain as many as a couple of hundred persons when the families also travel. Their food consists of all kinds of flesh, but, in deference to Hindu sentiment, they except cow and peacock, and they do not eat carrion. Baoriahs make use of the cabalistic trail and other signs common to all 'Gypsies.'

They are in the front rank of all as burglars, but, though great highwaymen, it has never been proved against Baoriahs and Badhaks that they joined with the Kanjars and Sanorias in the crime of *phansigari* or *thuggy*, i.e., strangling of victims with thong-nooses provided with a running slip-knot, and called in the thug's language the *rúmāl*, or scarf. Such nooses are, nevertheless, used by Baoriahs for game, even for antelopes and wild boar. This kind of snare is called a *phanda*, or *phans*, and Baoriahs have besides strong nets, some forty feet long, into which game is driven with the aid of dogs, and speared.

The following account of themselves was given by Baoriahs on the 7th of May 1837, to Lieut. C. E. Mills, Assistant General Superintendent of *Thuggy* and *Dacoity*, who forwarded it to Sir William Sleeman:<sup>1</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> *Unpublished Official Records*, Moradabad, Province of Agra and Oudh, 1837.

'The Baurie caste was originally Rajput, and our ancestry came from Marwar. We have eight clans. Two or three centuries ago, when the Emperor of Dehli attacked the fortress of Chitor and besieged it for twelve years for the sake of the Princess Padmini, the country became desolate, and scarcity and distress prevailed. We were obliged to emigrate in search of subsistence and employment, and had to disperse to different parts of the country. We are not people of yesterday, we are of ancient and illustrious descent. When the Demon Ravana took away the wife of the God Rama, and Rama followed him to recover her, men of all castes went to fight for him in the holy cause; among them was a leader of the Bauris, whose name was Pardhi, and whose occupation was hunting. When Rama vanquished his enemy and recovered Sita, he asked Pardhi what he could do for him. "Grant," said Pardhi, "that I may attend as your Majesty's mountguard and hunt in the intervals of leisure, and I shall have all that my heart wishes." The god granted Pardhi's request, and his occupation has descended down to us. If any Prince happens to have an enemy that he wishes to have made away with, he sends for some of our tribe and says, "Go and bring such an one's head": we go, steal into his sleeping apartments, and take off the person's head without any person knowing anything about it.'

Like the other people in the 'Gypsy' category, the Baoriahs pretend a devotion to Hindu deities and Muslim saints which they do not sincerely feel. Záhír Pír and Lalta Masáni must be excepted. Baorlah children wear an image of Záhír Pír, on a silver plaque, suspended from a necklace on the breast. This is how it came to pass. The Emperor Aurangzeb gained a great victory near Bahádurán in Bíkáner, and, being a very bigoted and superstitious monarch, he ascribed his success to the presence in the vicinity of the remains of some saint. The courtiers called on the Baoriahs to produce evidence of a saint, and they pointed out the cenotaph of their own hero Gúga, whom Aurangzeb dubbed Záhír Pír, that is to say, the saint who manifested himself in the battle. Gúga was the son of Amaru, a Čohán. His mother was named Bāncól, and his sister Rančhan. The wife of Gúga was extremely beautiful, and aroused the lust of a Muslim satrap, who coveted her and put into execution a plot to abduct her. This miscarried through the resistance of Gúga, who with his followers fell fighting. In the end Gúga was canonised by a

Muslim ruler. The criminals of the tribe pay their devotions to the Goddess Bhawáni, or Káli, in this wise:—A lamp is filled with butter, and a live coal placed in it, *halwa* sweetmeat is added till a flame rises. When smoke issues, those present fold their hands and pray. 'Through thy blessing Bhawáni, we shall succeed.' The remains of the butter and sweetmeat are given to black dogs and crows. There is also a worship of the sun, called *Ranágat*, in the month of August, and the grave of an ancestor named *Tújhar*, at *Ĵhanḍa*, in the *Paṭiála* State, is visited for a religious ceremony.

Every tribal division is endogamous, and every *gotra*, or agnate, is exogamous to the father's *got*. Marriage is permitted in the mother's *got*, excluding near relations. Adultery is punished with fine, and recourse to a prostitute is treated as adultery. Baoriahs have Doms to keep their pedigrees. For some reason, which I have been unable to discover, they regard the donkey with aversion. *Sati* was decreed by a Hindu ruler because poisoning of husbands by wives became very common. Baoriahs sit down to meals with their wives, and the latter eat first, not because the men are chivalrous, but because husband-poisoning was once customary. There are non-Aryan rites to appease departed spirits, called *patur*. Crumbs are steeped in oil and put into a brazier, before which all present beat their brows. The language is called *Girhaṭ*, or *Pársi*, and is probably a dialect of Bhíl on a basis of Hindustáni.

Baoriahs make good Bháts, and memorise and recite the *Ramáyan* and other epics. Suits among themselves are decided by an ordeal.

5. *Biloč*.—These are commonly called *Madári* and *Kalandar*, and are the well-known bear and monkey-men. Max Müller traces the term *Biloč* from *Mlecha*.<sup>1</sup> The *gots* are those of the inhabitants of *Balúčistan*, or *Biločistan*, as *Rind*, *Mazári*, *Lašári*, *Ĵatoi*, *Giloi*, etc. The country of origin was probably the *Deraját* and *Sindh*.

When abroad, the personal appearance of *Biloč* 'Gypsies' and the aspect of their camps differ little from those of other 'Gypsies,' but the *Biloč* occupy the *pakkhi* form of tent. The wanderers are generally harmless, but there are very criminal communities in the *Ambála* and *Muzafarnagar* districts. The

<sup>1</sup> *Oxford Lectures*, by Max Müller, London, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1875, p. 97.

whole tribe is Musalmán in the order of the Imams Šáfi and Ázam, whereby they are permitted to eat animals otherwise held unclean, pig alone excepted. These Biloč wander to Central Asia, Persia, and Syria. They have adopted even the Biloč pedigrees. I reduced to writing that of the Giloi Biločs of Montgomery, which extended back to Father Adam. In his chapter on Čhapparbands, Kennedy<sup>1</sup> refers to a report of the Commissioner of the Haidarabad Assigned Districts connecting the 'Rends [Rind] or Beluchis, found in the Muzuffarnagger district' with the Čhapparbands. This is an extraordinary coincidence, because the Čhapparbands and their language are Bhántu, and if the suggestion is correct, it brings all the Biloč 'Gypsies' into the Bhántu category, besides adding weight to the argument that all the *gotras* borne by these people are annexed by them from those of the inhabitants of the countries they frequent, which I believe to be the case.

6. *Bhangi*.—This race is known generally as Čúhṛa, Dom, Domna, Musalli, Mazbi, Kange, Kálbelia, Wátíl, Bálmiki, Válmiki, Lál Begi, Rangreṭi, etc. It is the lowest in the social scale of all the peoples of India, being the necessary and ubiquitous corps of scavengers. Čúhṛas and Bhangi Doms have the same legend of their earliest origin, which is, that long, long ago, there were four Bráhmans, brothers, of whom the three elder induced the youngest, by name Malu Dant, to remove the carcase of a dead cow, for doing which he was promptly excommunicated. An accretion to the tribe occurred when another Bráhman married a Čúhṛi named Jástri. Čúhṛas claim direct descent from Bálmik, Bála Šáh, and Lál Beg, who are sometimes considered variants of the same individual, and sometimes the descendants one of the other. There were, in ancient times, two Bálmiks, one was a robber, and the other the principal collaborator in the epic poem of the *Ramáyana*. Čúhṛas affirm that it was the latter who was their ancestor, and Indian opinion is divided as to whether Bálmik was a Čúhṛa or a Bhíl. The *gotras* of the Čúhṛas and Doms vary from province to province, and run from Bhaṭṭi, which is a good Rájput *got*, to Gil, Kulṛiya, and Rámdásia, which are respectable Jāt ones.

One of the *gots* is named Lút. During past times, when India was much disturbed, bands of Dom and Čúhṛa robbers roamed over the country, and people cried, *Lút máṛte*, which is the

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 49.

derivation of 'loot' and 'loot már.' Čúhřas claim that they and the Doms, Mirássis, Máčhis, Jhíwars, and Čangars are of the same origin, which is not unlikely. The charge of cannibalism has been brought against Čúhřas within comparatively recent times. In the Sandal Bár, now the Čenáb Colony, there is a hill, an outcrop of the Araváli Range, where once dwelt a Čúhřa named Sandal, surnamed Ádam Khor, the man-eater, who with his people formed a man-eating tribe.

Although Čúhřas and Doms have established residences throughout India, a good many are still to be found in the wandering state. The Kingar, or Ále Bhole (wandering potters), and the Gagra (leeches and cuppers) belong to this tribe. Čúhřas will not have anything to do with Bhántus, and the present writer was witness of a battle royal between Čúhřas and Sásnis over the carcase of a bull, which, after the skin had been removed by the Čamárs, was cast out of the village. The Čúhřas were worsted and the Sásnis secured all the carrion, the Sásni women contributing most to the victory.

The Bhangí race hunts and fishes, and its members are good grass-workers, doing all the thatching and mat-business. The Musalmán Čúhřas are called Musallis; Musalmán Dom are Mirássis, and Sikhs of both kinds are Mazbí or Rangreťa. The Ále Bhole make toys of clay and pipe-bowls, etc., without the aid of the potter's wheel. Doms and Čúhřas have no caste prejudices, and will sit down to eat any meat, though they object to the diet of fried snake which Badiya Sapaídas relish. There is another exception, for hare is tabu with the Bhangis, it being alleged to cause certain physical changes in women.

Bhangis are of all hues and shades, from the fair Spanish types of the Wátils to a negroid blackness. Čúhřa Doms are not without musical talent, but more addicted to the *dhhol* and *nakkára* types of drum than to the softer and more mellow music of the Doms of other castes. Like every other tribe in the same category, they make sturdy beggars. They have a liberal collection of folk-lore, songs, and legends. As a narrator of family tales and stories from the *Singhásan Batísi*, there are few can compete with the Čúhřa. I think it was from Čúhřa sources that the late Sir Richard Temple collected his *Legends of the Panjab*.

A Čúhřa religious festival is celebrated by carrying in procession a long bamboo pole, crowned with a tuft of peacock's feathers, coloured rags and tinsel, which is apostrophised as

Lál Beg, and accompanied by sundry banners, drums, and reed-pipes. Čúhras worship one God, Rabb, and their own ancestors.

In soldiers' barracks, 'Gypsy' classes are well represented. The cooks and canteen-boys are Kanjars, nicknamed Giliára; and Čúhras, or Doms, who perform the other domestic offices, are nicknamed Golia and Dolia. Tommy alone is ignorant of the comedy which is played under his nose. These classes have attached themselves to every army since Timúr's; at first as parasites and plunderers, and later as useful economic growths. Under the Hindu power, Čúhras and Doms beat the war-drum (*nakkára*) and blew the trumpet (*sarná*). The evolution of the Čúhras is also a curious subject, for Čúhras may be found nowadays in high places.

#### 6. *Common Origin of the Gypsy-like Wanderers*

The common descent of classes 2. Badiya, 3. Banjára, and 4. Baoriah, is not only capable of proof, but is admitted. Upon the origin of the Bhántus, some light may be thrown by the proceedings of a Commission appointed by the Local Administration, on the 9th of April 1904, in the Karnál District, to investigate the claim of Kanjar Sánsis, who are Bhántus, to a family connection with the Badiyas, and the repudiation by the latter of the claim.<sup>1</sup>

The Commission reports:—'We have held an inquiry throughout the district in all the notable and central places in the presence of both tribes (1) Badias and (2) Sansas or Kanjars, the inquiry being always held in public. . . . The whole evidence on the record, which embodies the statements of Bhats (genealogists) and Purohits (Brahman family priests) of the Tiraths (Holy Places), leads to the conclusion that the Badias and the Banjaras are in reality the offshoots of the Rajputs. The Badias and the Banjaras claim the same ancestry for eleven generations from the first common ancestor. In the twelfth generation, they have formed themselves into two distinct classes. The descendants of Karamsi and Dharamsi were designated Bazigars, Badias, and Nats, and those of the rest were called Banjaras. . . . The Jogas (Jogis who do Bhats' work) of the Badias and the Banjaras were sent for and a pedigree table prepared for twenty-seven

<sup>1</sup> *Report of a Commission regarding Badias and Sansas*, Karnal District, dated the 9th of April 1904.



generations, based on the most authentic and trustworthy records in possession of the Jogas, connecting the petitioners with the common ancestors of the Badias and the Banjaras in the twenty-seventh degree. This pedigree table shows that the Badias and Banjaras are ramifications of the Rajputs, and that their customs and ceremonies do correspond substantially.

‘There are Hindu Badias as well as Muhamadan Badiyas. The latter trace their origin from the Hindu Badias. . . . Although the Badias are classed as *Sirkibands*, their *sirkis* (tents) are materially distinguishable from those of the Sansis by being permanent. The Badias enjoy permanent *virt* (the right to act as bards and genealogists and to provide music on domestic and ceremonial occasions), and have localised their sphere of operations on ancestral rights. When they go to perform their *virt* there is a great ceremony, and they are given jewels, money, and sometimes as much as Rs.1000 or Rs.1200. On the contrary, the Kanjars and the Sansis have no fixed abode, and their *sirkis* partake of the character of vagabonds and vagrants. The result conclusively arrived at is that the Nats, Bhils, Sansis, and Dhanaks [also Bhils] are the offshoots of the Rajputs.’

The Badiyas petitioned against the claim of the Bhántus, and the decision given by the tribunal was in Rajput country. Had the tribunal gone to Jat country, it would have found that the Bhántus there had also established *virt*s and consanguinal ties with the people, though of course the latter were not open ones, nor, as a rule, acknowledged.

‘The Rajputs who abandoned the religion of their forefathers and adopted that of degraded and low persons were henceforward called Nats. The pedigree shows the stage marking the fall and decline of these men.

‘In the same way, the Sansis and Kanjars are a degraded class of the Rajputs, and, so far as we have been able to find out, the Sansis appear to have disintegrated themselves from the Rajput stock in the days of Raja Ben, from whom Bhils, Sansis, and Kanjars trace their origin. It is a pity that the Sansis do not possess any records whereby some link uniting their ancestral stock with the Badias may be found. They live a vagabond’s life in the jungle, and cause havoc throughout by their depredations, and, as a complete pedigree table is simply an impossibility, the salient features distinguishing the Sansis and Kanjars from the Badias may thus be summed up. The Sansis and the Kanjars

have no natural religion, and it may safely be said that they owe allegiance to no religion. They are irreligious persons, though they have *chotis* [the Brahminical tuft of hair] on their heads, but they have no scruple in dining with a sweeper [Čúhṛa] and a Muhamadan, and eat anything indiscriminately, lead a savage life, and do not observe any Hindu ceremony, have no fixed abode or habitation, nor do they appear to belong definitely to any clan or sub-clan.<sup>1</sup>

The conclusion of the whole matter is, that there was, in ancient times, a submerged and outcaste people, Mlečha, scattered over the face of the land, which people have come down to the present day without any material, social, or economic change in their condition; that this people wandered over a great expanse of country without let or hindrance, hunting and trapping, until their hunting grounds became restricted by the spread of agriculture and civilised habitations; that they then preyed on the human species not of their own race, and went abroad to seek fresh hunting grounds; that they were tenacious of their existence and have survived, and that they are more or less of common stock, and were once upon a time homogeneous.

7. *Tribes which are Nomadic or Criminal, or both, but which are not 'Gypsies'*

These are a multitude in the Western Plains, the arid tracts, and in the mountains. There are the Gadi shepherds, Kšatri, Bráhmaṇ, etc., whose tradition is that they fled to the mountains from the wrath of the Muslims; Ban Gújar (forest dairy men), Biloč (camel drivers), and others; but above all and foremost, the Pačhádas, divided up into a legion of tribes. The Míanas, of whom an account has been given by Kennedy,<sup>2</sup> belong to the last category. The Pačhádas are a vast organisation of cattle-lifters,

<sup>1</sup> In August 1910, the month in which all Bhántu tribes collect at the graves of their ancestors to sacrifice; to perform religious ceremonies; to arrange marriages; to settle disputes, and try causes by their *pañcáyats*, or councils of elders, there came to Ĵawála Mukhí (a Bhántu clan gathering-place in the Kangra district) the Bhántu camps of Būṭa and Hira and the Bediya camps of Jámu, Debia, Čappan, and Umra. Two other parties of Bangális or Bediyas, under Kharkali and Dopha, to which I have referred already, were held in check by me and prevented from joining the meeting. My Bhántu man Čilúa, who was sent to spy among them, reported a curious fact, that these Bangális or Bediyas, whom the Gazetteer described as immigrants from Bengal and as having relations with Sásnis, were divided into Málá and Biđú exogamous divisions like his own people, and that intermarriages were arranged on this basis.

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 126.

and their system is termed *rassa*, meaning a cord. They work through *thángdárs*, or receivers. Assuming that a bullock is stolen at Jhelam and a camel at Jaipur, the respective animals change places through the *thángdárs*, the cord, or halter, passing from hand to hand. The trackers (*khojís*) who recover the animals are among the most efficient in the world. They will cross two or more rivers in their quest. The 'Gypsies' have no present organisation on all fours with the above; but, in past ages, when they were probably much more numerous, the whole scheme, in all likelihood, originated with them and passed into other hands. It is a most lordly sport, and the highest in the land have a hand in the game.

#### 8. Other Tribes not placed

The Dágis have been bracketed with tribes the subject of this article. They are a Kolarian remnant in the north, and call themselves Kol; they are agriculturists (no 'Gipsy' will have anything to do with agriculture), and they practise polyandry, whereas 'Gypsies' are monogamists; hence they must be excluded. Mínas are non-'Gipsy' and so are Táguis, but their criminal methods are strangely like, though not their mode of life. Mángs and Máng-Gárudis of the Deccan are beyond a shadow of a doubt of Bhántu origin. Čandarwedis and Sonorias<sup>1</sup> employ the Bhántu slang and probably began with a Bhántu nucleus, and recruited from other classes. As regards the Bháttras or spurious Bráhmans, their origin is obscured in great doubt.<sup>2</sup> Knowing this tribe, and having seen it under various circumstances, I am, on the whole, inclined to think that renegade Bráhmans consorted with Bhántus and gave this tribe a religious character which was recognised by native rulers and is still retained.

<sup>1</sup> Distinct from Sonarias. Sonaria is a tribal caste and Sonoria a criminal fraternity, recruited, like the Čandarwedis, from several castes.

<sup>2</sup> The 'Gypsy' aborigines have marvellous memories, and the Brahmins, discovering this long ago, made their brains the repositories of the sacred books. The business was taken up by whole families, and the epics parcelled out among them, each man taking so many hundreds of lines. In Maharáštra, there are families of Bháts whose memories are the repositories of all the books of the Vedas. Hence many people believe these wandering Bháts to be debased or spurious Brahmins living with 'Gypsies.' One may see, in the courtyard of a rich Hindu's house, a 'Gypsy' with his castanets or wooden clappers, or with a pair of tongs, keeping time and reciting. No one appears to give him much heed, but if one pass by two hours later, he is still reciting. The Saiad Makhdúms of Multán and certain Korešís have genealogical trees on scrolls twenty feet and more long and most complicated, the contents of which are also in the mental recesses of their Dúma. Send for the Dúms and they will repeat their patron's pedigree back to Father Adam.

One point, I think, must be conceded, and that is, that if the Gypsies of Europe are the descendants of the 'Gypsies' of India, there was not, in the days before their exodus, the great cleavage that now exists between Čuhra and Dom; that there was a wider gulf between 'Gypsies' and Kolarian and Dravidian, and that each kind was more homogeneous after its own sort. The true 'Gypsies' were probably Bhantu, Dom, and Banjára, and the mixed Kol and Bhil types of Badiya and Baoriah either did not exist or were fewer. Bhantu and Dom have never amalgamated, and it might even be suggested that these are the separate originals. Ties of consanguinity exist between Bhantu, or Dom, and Jaṭ, or Pačháda, and are a matter of common knowledge. In conclusion, why call the most primitive living type of Indian 'Gypsy' by a multitude of names, such as Kanjar, Sánsi, Habúrah, Beriha, etc., etc., when the entire race is known to itself by the one name of Bhantu?

*(To be continued.)*

## NOTES AND QUERIES

### 1.—CASES OF KIDNAPPING

Independent of these there is another species of beggars, the gypsies, who form a distinct clan and will associate with none but those of their own tribe. They are notorious thieves as well as beggars, and constantly infest the streets of London, to the great annoyance of strangers and those who have the appearance of being wealthy. They have no particular home or abiding-place, but encamp about in open fields or under hedges as occasion requires. They are generally of a yellow complexion and converse in a dialect peculiar only to themselves. Their thieving propensities does not unfrequently lead them to kidnap little children whenever an opportunity presents. Having first by a dye changed their complexions to one that corresponds with their own they represent them as their own offspring, and carry them about half-naked on their backs to excite the pity and compassion of those of whom they beg charity. An instance of this species of theft by a party of these unprincipled vagabonds occurred once in my neighbourhood while an inhabitant of London. The little girl kidnapped was a daughter of Captain Kellem of Coventry Street. Being sent abroad on some business for her parents, she was met by a gang of gypsies, consisting of five men and six women, who seized her and forcibly carried her away to their camp in the country at a considerable distance, having first stripped her of her own clothes, and in exchange dressed her in some of their rags. Thus garbed, she travelled about the country with them for nearly seven months, and was treated as the most abject slave, and her life threatened if she should endeavour to escape or divulge her story. She stated that during the time she was with them they entrapped a little boy about her own age, whom they also stripped and carried with them, but took particular care he should never converse with her, treating him in the like savage manner. She said they generally travelled by cross-roads and private ways, ever keeping a watchful

eye that she might not escape, and that no opportunity offered until when, by some accident, they were obliged to send her from their camp to a neighbouring farmhouse in order to procure a light, which she took advantage of, and scrambling over hedges and ditches as she supposed for the distance of eight or nine miles, reached London worn out with fatigue and hunger, her support with them being always scanty and of the worst sort. It was the intention of the gypsies, she said, to have coloured her and the boy when the walnut season approached' [*Life and Adventures of Israel Ralph Potter* (1744-1826), (Providence, 1824). Reprinted in the *Magazine of History*, extra number, No. 16 (New York, 1911), pp. 50-51].

Reading this account one would imagine that Potter reported the kidnapping case from personal knowledge and that it was well authenticated. But fortunately there is evidence that it was absolutely untrue, and that the Gypsies, though captured and incarcerated, got off with credit and with what probably pleased them more, a handsome subscription.

Here is the case as reported in Dodsley's *Annual Register* for June the 8th, 1802 (xliv. 50\*) :—'A party of gypsies were brought up to the Public-Office, Bow-street, charged with kidnapping a female child, named Mary Kellen. It appeared that on Friday last this child, in a most wretched state, applied to some persons at South End, near Lewisham, for relief; and said she had just made her escape from some gypsies, who had stolen her from her friends at Plymouth. On being interrogated, she asserted, that she was the daughter of Captain K. of the marines; that she was stolen about seven months ago, and that, after having been stripped of her cloaths, and dressed in a filthy garb, she was forced to wander with the gang, who treated her with the greatest cruelty. She also stated, that they lately entrapped a little boy, whom they treated in a similar manner. The gypsies admitted that she had been with them; but, instead of six or seven months, as she said, declared that she had only come to them about ten days ago, and then by her own request, one of the women meeting with her on Kennington Common apparently in the greatest distress, and she begging to be received among them. This assertion was positively denied by the child: and the vagrants were committed to the house of correction till the matter could be investigated. The consequence of further enquiry has been to prove, that the statement of Mary Kellen, respecting her being kidnapped by gypsies, was a complete fabrication. The girl ran away from the Rotherhithe poor house, and offered to go with these gypsies who met her at Kennington. She did not appear much disconcerted at being detected in her combination of falsehood: the magistrate committed her to the house of correction, and dismissed the gypsies, for whom a handsome collection was made in the office.'

To expect veracity from one of the feminine sex in the witness-box and in the wrong would of course be absurd: still one cannot help hoping that the house of correction found some means of disconcerting that child; and very probably it did in those less sentimental days, when Solomon and his advice were taken more seriously than they are now.

It is perhaps not irrelevant to mention another case of kidnapping which occurred, or was said to occur, a few years earlier, in 1762 :—'*Saturday, May 1.* As some gypsies were travelling near Alton in Hampshire, a farmer in those parts, who had lost a favourite little boy about two years before, seeing a child along with them, whom he suspected to be his, went up to them and insisted upon stripping him. This being after some difficulty complied with, he soon discovered, by a mark on the boy's thigh, that it was his own child, and carried him home. The gypsies, apprehensive of the consequences, made off, and though immediate pursuit was made after them, it was without success' (*The Universal Museum*, vol. 1. p. 297). But, as the *Gentleman's Magazine* (xxxii., 1762, p. 238), which just mentions the case, observes, 'this story is told in so romantic a manner, that we doubt the truth of it, and should be glad of better information.'

Equally suspicious is a story reprinted from the *Leamington Spa Courier* in *The Times* of December 26, 1832 :—‘*Kidnapping*.—The following revolting fact ought to be generally known :—About six months ago, two girls (13 to 15 years of age) went with their parents to see the Bristol illumination ; by some accident they separated from their parents, and were overtaken in their way home by several lock-up Gipsy carts. They were seized by the drivers of them, put into separate carts, and threatened that if they made the least noise they should be murdered. One of these carts lately came within 4 miles of Worcester, the owners of it being employed in collecting bones. During the absence of the man and woman belonging to it, one of the girls who had been kidnapped, made her escape to that city, and related her case to an individual, who kindly wrote to her uncle, John Bidgood, 17, Broad street, Bristol. He immediately sent her money and clothes to take her home, whither she was conveyed on Thursday last. The Gipsy, on discovering his loss, had the audacity to offer a sovereign for her apprehension, saying she was his sister’s child. He confessed, however, that he should have made a good deal of money of her by sending her into Wales. The girl stated that there was a little boy and girl in the cart when she was first taken, but they disappeared. She says the carts have the names Mears, Smith, Lewis and others, on them ; and that the owners went about collecting bones, and stole everything they could lay their hands on. When children are stolen, they are stripped, their faces blacked, and ragged clothes given them to disguise them. She was treated in this way. It is to be regretted that means were not adopted to apprehend the scoundrel who claimed the child.’

E. O. WINSTEDT.

## 2.—SPIES

One of the oldest and most frequent accusations brought against Gypsies was that they were spies : and they had, no doubt, excellent opportunities for observation, while their retentive memories were perhaps a sufficiently permanent record before the days of scientific warfare. There is, however, another way of explaining the tradition ; for, in the past no less than in the present, it may sometimes have been worth while for educated persons to masquerade as Gypsies for the sake of obtaining information. Possibly the following incident, which occurred in the summer of 1907, illustrates this fact :—

‘At Shiell Bridge (Loch Duich) two tramps or gipsies passed me—a man with long black hair and beard, dressed in black or brown corduroy, and a brown skinned woman in dark brown dress, but short, somewhat like a divided skirt. The postmaster said, “Do you see these Gypsies ? They are German spies.” I said, “What are they going to spy here ?” He said, “They profess not to know the language, but you can notice that they are alert to all that is said. They don’t beg. They have plenty of money, and even tender gold in payment of purchases. Yet to all appearance they are tramps, ragged, dirty, and poor.” More followed, but this will suffice to give you an idea of their appearance, etc.

‘We motored on across Dornie Ferry and Strone Ferry, and eventually passed a promontory near Munkasdale (perhaps five days later) where we saw the two figures again. The man was eagerly pointing to sea, where islands and creeks lie in front, while the woman was attentively listening to his remarks. It was an isolated spot. Hearing the motor they turned round, and the man bending low, touched his breast, and extending his arm, called something sounding like, Oy oh, oy oh, and then saluted me.

‘We passed on to Dundonell Inn, a lonely inn on little Loch Broom. My wife and daughter were in their room on the east side. The inn faces the sea. The tramps passed the house, still looking like tramps, and when about 100 feet past,

glanced furtively back. Seeing no one they crept into cover of the house, produced a leather portfolio from the woman's dress, and rapidly began sketching, noted down the windows and other details, stepped the road, and surveyed the scene. They were evidently highly educated people. Finally the portfolio was slipped again into the woman's dress, and they tramped on, a pair of common foreign tramps.

W. INGLIS CLARK.

### 3.—GIPSIES IN AMERICA, 1581

We owe the following early reference to Gypsies in South America to the kindness of Miss Freire-Marreco of Somerville College, Oxford:—

*Cédulas y provisiones del Rey Nuestro Señor para el Gobierno é Provincia, Justicia, Hacienda y Patronazgo Real, etc. etc. desde el año 1541 á 1608.* Published in *Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos . . . de los archivos . . . de Indios*: Madrid, 1872, vol. xviii. p. 138:—

'*El Rey.* = Presidente é oydores de la Nuestra Audiencia Real que reside en la ciudad de la Plata de las provincias de los Charcas: Nos somos ynformado que encubiertamente an pasado a algunas partes de las Nuestras Yndias xitanos y personas que andan en su traxe y lengua vssando de sus tratos y desconcertada viuienda entre los yndios, a los quales por su simplicidad engañan con facilidad; y porque habiendose considerado los daños que caussan en estos Reynos, se dio orden en recogerlos, y siendo aca su vida y termino de tratar tan perjudicial, teniendolos la justicia tan á la mano, se entiende que lo sera alla mucho mas por las distancias que ay de vnos pueblos a otros, con que se podran encubrir y disimular sus hurtos, y no conuiene que alla quede ninguno dellos, os Mandamos que con mucho cuydado os ynformeis y sepais si en essa prouincia ay alguno de la dicha nacion o que ande en el dicho traxe, y huiendolos, ordenareis que luego sean embiados a estos Reynos, embarcandolos en los primeros nauios que vinieren a ellos con sus mugeres, hijos y criados, sin permitir que por ninguna via ni caussa que aleguen quede ninguno en essas partes, porque esta es nuestra voluntad. Fecha en Elbas en once de Hebrero de mill y quinientos y ochenta y vn años. = Yo el Rey. = Por mandado de su Magestad; Antonio de Herasso.

'En la Ciudad de la Plata, a cinco dias del mes de Nobiembre de mill y quinientos y ochenta y dos años: los señores Presidente y oidores desta Real Audiencia en acuerdo de justicia, haviendo visto esta Cedula Real de Su Magestad la obedescieron con el acatamiento debido, y en su cumplimiento dixeron que hasta agora no se a tenido noticia que en el destrito desta Real Audiencia anden ningunos xitanos ni persona que anden en su hanito, y tendran cuydado de sauer y entender si ay algunos ó que vengan de aqui adelante para cumplir y executar lo que Su Magestad manda. = Ante mi; Joan de Lossa. = Entre renglones: y no conuiene que alla quede ninguno dellos. = Corregido con su original. = Joan Baptista de la Gasca.'

### 4.—TENT-GYPSIES IN DENMARK

As I have already stated, the few tent-Gypsies who from time to time travel in Denmark belong to the families of Toikun and Demeter. Andrew Toikun resides here always and is visited occasionally by his relations as well as by his sons, who sometimes travel with them. All last winter (1910-11) the family lived at Brónshøj, a suburb of Copenhagen, and there in the inn during the Christmas holidays I met his wife, his eldest son, and a daughter.

Andrew Toikun seldom leaves his wagon—it seems that, in consequence of numerous conflicts with the police, he is very nervous and allows his wife and sons to manage his business operations. The other *Sindi* call him, in mockery, 'The

Milkman' and accuse him of unclean habits, in which, I expect, they are right, for his van is unpleasant and dirty. He is fat, inactive and pale, and, I think, eats every quarter of an hour.

I was the bearer of greetings from the German Gypsies (Laitši Vairox, etc.), many of whom the Toikuns knew, and with this introduction we fell easily into conversation—'Philip Martin was away in Sweden just now,'—'Angelo could play on a mouth-harp,'—'Sofi must exhibit her skill in dancing.'

This summer (1911) I met the family again at Nyköping (Falster). It was increased by the presence of Philip Martin with his wife and child, and of Andrew Toikun's younger brother with his wife and four children. A market was being held in the city at the time, and the Gypsies intended to give exhibitions of music and dancing. Andrew Toikun began at once to make excuses for having sent me an insolent letter, pretending that, at the time he wrote, he had received a letter from his brother in Sweden, who has the same name as I have, and that he thought I had adopted my name with a view to defrauding him. He had threatened to banish me from Denmark! However, we renewed our friendship and had some interesting conversation, particularly about the family of Rebekka Demeter with which I had travelled in the spring.

His wife and daughter were at the entrance to take the money (10 öre each), and the two other women were telling fortunes: one of them also danced although she was enceinte. The young men played and the boys beat the drum. Philip Martin is an excellent fiddler, but he is a quiet man and disinclined to join in conversation. Angelo, whose handsome appearance usually attracts attention, was much more forward. He is given to drink, and lived for a time with Justine Rosenhagen.

The family of Kurri (Peter Toikun) and Dika (Katharine) invited me to sit with them. Kurri complained of bad business, and that he had to be continually travelling and could not settle anywhere for any length of time. Besides which, he said he was ill with catarrh of the stomach. I consoled him as well as I could, and advised him to drink water instead of brandy—a prescription which was not to his taste! I asked him whether he had been in Maribo (Laaland) in 1894 in the company of Anton Fejer (in *Romani šip*, Carlo), and he answered that he had, and that Carlo was his eldest brother. Another brother, Punka, died unmarried in Sweden some years ago, he said,—he was so good and gentle, and ready to help, that they had all grieved. I asked him further whether it was true that one of his brothers had two wives, a report which came to me from the island of Årö, where they had been in 1907. It was true he admitted, adding 'They were for ever quarrelling.'

According to him his family is the only nomad Gypsy family in Denmark and Scandinavia—there are no other tent-Gypsies there,—but year by year travelling becomes more difficult.

Two members of the band have been banished this year (1911): Karl Petterson (in *Romani šip*, Bomba) and Mathé his brother, a pleasant little man, with a squint, whom I remember very well as the commander at Maribo.

In answer to my inquiry as to where they intended to stay during the next winter, he replied probably in Odense or Aarhus. At the present time (23 September 1911) they are at Nyborg (Fyn), but the band has divided.

The following list, they said, contains all the members of the *Lovari* tribe:—

<i>Official Name.</i>	<i>Romani šip.</i>
Andrew Toikun = Johan Columbar	Zurka
Elisa Betta (his wife)	Waruschanna
Marietta	Gripha
Angelo	Maddino
Philip Martin	Birritsch



<i>Official Name.</i>	<i>Romani šip.</i>
Sofi	Fetschella (Swallow)
Karl Petterson	Bomba
Peter Toikun	Kurri or Gurri
Katharine (his wife)	Dika
Anton Fejer	Carlo
Josef Petterson (my lame friend)	Dutsa or Bango (lame)

Carlo, Punka (*mulo*), Kurri, and Zurka are brothers: Mari the wife of Bomba being their sister. They all came originally from France, and travel with three tents in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. The sound which I have written *r* in Gripha is a little rolling sound.

JOHAN MISKOW.

#### 5.—MEASUREMENTS OF DANISH GYPSIES

The following measurements are those of five native Danish Gypsies. Edvard Enok is a musician living in Nyköbing (Faister). Louise Borre was also an Enok by birth, cousin of Edvard, and is an 'artiste.' Larsine Mäggeli was *née* Mundeling. Herman Bruun is a half-breed, his mother being a true Gypsy, sister of Edvard Enok's mother. He is a dark, well-built man, a circus-master by trade. They do not speak Romani except for a few odd words. All have black hair and brown eyes.

	Age.	Height.	Length of Head.	Breadth of Head.	Index.	Length of Face.	Breadth of Face.	Length of Foot.
		cm.	mm.	mm.		mm.	mm.	mm.
Edvard Enok, . .	60	174	193	163	84.5	115	147	284
Louise Borre, . .	32	140	180	148	82.2	110	126	214
Larsine Mäggeli, . .	48	161	184	151	82.1	116	133	234
Chr. Mäggeli, . .	50	171	189	155	82.0	134	139	255
Herman Bruun, . .	46	164	194	150	77.3	117	140	240

JOHAN MISKOW.

#### 6.—EARLY ANNALS

1. 'In Stannington Church one Sunday morning in 1572 or 1573, after the Communion, Matthew and Ralph Ogle of Saltwick gave Thomas Topping, the bailiff of Shotton, "crewell words" because he had held back some "geir as he had restyd of the Egipecians concerning the corsinge of a horse"' (W. W. Tomlinson, *Life in Northumberland during the Sixteenth Century*, p. 146).

2. J. C. Cox, in the *Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society's Transactions*, vol. i. (1879), pp. 36, 39, quotes from the Constable's accounts at Repton the following item, which he says is the earliest reference to Gypsies in the Midland counties:—'1602 It. given to Gipsies y<sup>e</sup> xxx daye of Januarye to avoyde y<sup>e</sup> towne xx [pence].'

3. There are three earlier references in the Burgery accounts of Sheffield published in J. D. Leader's *Records of the Burgery of Sheffield* (London, 1897):—

p. 69. 'Item, payd unto Hugh Robertes the 14th of Februarie 1595 to pay the Watchmen with when the Gipsees were in the towne ijs.'

p. 73. (Accounts of the year ending Martlemas 1597), 'Item, geven to a pore man, one Richard Hamon, and to the Gipsies vjd.'

p. 78. 'Item, given the xxijth of June '99 [=1599] to certain]gybsees xijl.'

4. The Rev. R. M. Serjeantson's *History of the Church of St. Giles Northampton*, has three mentions of Gypsies, the first taken from the Parish Register, the second from the Churchwardens' account, and the third from the Feoffees' accounts:—

'1620, Aug. 24. Anne, the daughter of an Egyptian yt was executed at the first Assizes that Sir Erasmus Dreyden was highe Shreiffe, was baptized' (p. 186).

'1642, August 10. "Given to the Egiptian Maide, 4<sup>d</sup>." (p. 238. On p. 186 it is stated that 'several sums of money were given to an "Egiptian maide" in that year').

'1642-3, Jan. 7. Paid for a sheete and burieng the Egiptian, 3/-' (p. 238).

5. The bailiff of the Honour of Peverel, who was one of the witnesses called on Sept. 25, 1625, in a case to decide whether Bramcote was in the Honour of Peverel, or was an independent manor, in his evidence 'saith that he came to Bramcote, where there were Gipsies whoe had committed an uprore, and had lost two peeces of gould, which being founde by two of the inhabitants of Bramcote, he went and challenged them and receyved it of them, as forfeited to the Honor of Peverell' (E. Trueman and R. W. Marston, *History of Ilkeston*, 1899, p. 161, from Chancery Depositions, 22 James I., Michaelmas, No. 72).

6. Among the persons presented at the North Riding Quarter Sessions, Oct. 3, 1637, was 'the Constable of Ugthorpe for not punishing certain rogues and vagabonds (among them two calling themselves Egyptians) who were loitering about the said township, and begging, etc.' (*The North Riding Record Society*, vol. iv., 1886, p. 80).

E. O. WINSTEDT.

#### 7.—EARLY REFERENCES TO GYPSIES IN GERMANY

(1) Nach der Bamberger Stadtrechnung erhielten im Jahr 1463 die Zigeuner ein Geschenk von 7 Pfund Heller, 'darum, dass sie von stund an hin wegschieden und die gemein unbeschädigt liessen' (*Anzeiger für Kunde des deutschen Mittelalters*, Bd. 1, 1832, p. 71).

(2) 1424 'Ghegheven dem greven uth heidenschup 16 s.'; at Hildesheim (*Urkundenbuch der Stadt Hildesheim*, Theil 6, 'Hildesheimische Stadtrechnungen' herausgegeben von R. Doebner, Bd. 2, 1896, p. 264).

E. O. WINSTEDT.

#### 8.—GYPSY NEEDLEWORK

The following is the gist of some information given to me by a Devonshire friend:—

'About ten years ago I stayed in the village of Yealmpton, helping the vicar's wife with her parish affairs. Every week I went to the Mothers' Meeting, made tea for the women, and read aloud. One of the most regular attendants there was Thomasina Lane, a cheery old woman of Gypsy extraction, married to a labourer, and living in a three-roomed cottage in the village. She was, I believe, one of the Buckland tribe, and had two sisters, one named Concubina, the other Trefina. Mrs. Lane was always dressed in a dark woollen gown with a large apron, a little red shawl pinned across her breast, and a big black lace cap. She was the best

needlewoman in the club, and one day she told me that her people gave her orders for shirts. She showed me some, of white linen, very finely tucked. One which fastened behind had embroidery let in between the tucks, and curious little straps on the shoulders. She told me she made the shirts according to the rank of the wearer, and that some of the chiefs had gold buttons on theirs. A Gypsy would give her an order as he passed through on his way from one fair to another, and would call for the finished garment on his return. Mrs. Lane died suddenly at the age of eighty-six. I did not see her after she was laid in the coffin, but her daughter told me that she looked beautiful; that trails of ivy had been placed about her head, all her caps and bonnets at her feet, and between her hands a plate of cakes. When I asked for an explanation of the latter I was told, "So that she should not go empty-handed."

DOROTHY ALLMAND.

15th Nov. 1911.

### 9.—A GYPSY CHRISTENING

It may perhaps be worth while calling attention to the following case, in which a parish showed considerable reluctance to christen a Gypsy child, as a counterblast to the suggestion that Gypsy baptisms were entirely due to *gájo's* charitable treatment of them on those occasions:—

'Susannah, daughter of Moses and Mary Cooper, Travellers, born in Martin [Merton], and the poor woman being desirous to have it baptized, though she had lain in but a week, carried it in her own arms to Martin Church, to tender it to me to Baptize it there on Sunday last, being June y<sup>e</sup> 30th. But Justice Meriton being informed by the Constable of her being in the Porch with that intention, went out of his seat in time of service to her, and took hold of her, and led her to the Court of his house, being over against the Church, and shut the gate upon her and her husband, and let them not out till sermon and service were over and I was gone home, and made the man's mittimus to send him to the house of correction if he would not cary his wife and child out of the parish without being Baptized, and consequently registered there, which being forced to comply with, she brought up her child to me, to my house on this day, being Tuesday, July 2nd, complaining of her hard usage, and passionately desiring me to Baptize it, which I did by the name above in the presence of her husband, my wife, and Dr. Elir Pitchford. 1723. Edward Collins.' (T. F. Thiselton Dyer, *Old English Social Life*, London, 1898, p. 123, from the Winnbledon Parish Register.)

E. O. WINSTEDT.

I hope it is not uncharitable to attribute Gypsy love of baptism in general, and this woman's anxiety in particular, to a superstitious motive, shared originally by Gypsies and *gadže* alike, but surviving among the former after the latter had abandoned it. It has been shown already by a quotation from Busbequius (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, v. 47, footnote) that such a superstition existed among the Turks in the sixteenth century. That an illegitimate use was made of baptism in Germany in the middle of the seventeenth is proved by the following rule from the *Kirchen-polizey-und process Ordnungen Des . . . Herrn, Augusti, Postulirten Administratoris des Primats und Ertz-Stifts Magdeburg, . . . Publicirt auf dem allgemeinen Land-Tage zu Hall, den 6 Julii 1652. . . Gedruckt bey Johann Rappoldten daselbst* [a fact which he should rather have concealed, since the printing is remarkably bad!], 'Kirchen-Ordnung,' Cap. 3, no. 14, p. 12:—'Weil es auch ein Abergläubiger Miszbrauch ist, wenn denen Kindlein, so zur Tauffe getragen werden, Corallen, Perlen, güldene oder silberne Kornlein und dergleichen zu dem Ende angehenget werden, daz solche Sachen, wie gemeine Leuthe reden,

zugleich solten die Tauffe empfangen, und eine sonderbare Krafft bekommen. So sollen die Prediger ihre Zuhörer von solchen Aberglaubischen Dingen, mit allem Ernste abmahnen.'

Naturally Gypsies did not state their true motives to the priest, and evidence of the real basis of their belief in baptism is not likely to be found easily. But the baptized loadstone of Maddalena di Mariano (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 94) shows that they shared the general superstition, and it may have been a knowledge of this fact that led the Magdeburg authorities (*loc. cit.*, p. 17) to add as their last baptismal rule:—'Der Zigeuner Kinder sollen die Prediger nicht also fort tauffen, sondorn vorhero bey der Obrigkeit sich Bescheids erholen.'

Borrow's suggestion (*Zincali*, Introduction, 1908, pp. 32-3) that 'in their observance of the rite of baptism, they are principally influenced by a desire to enjoy the privilege of burial in consecrated ground,' is very wide of the mark, since the desire for Christian burial is of recent growth. It is significant, however, that Borrow, who understood the Gypsy character, did not allege the mercenary motive which is commonly given as an explanation, and of which an early example occurs in Johann Benjamin Weissenbruch's *Ausführliche Relation* (Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1727, p. 16):—'und ob sie gleich ihre Kinder tauffen, und die Tauffe öfters mehr als einmahl wiederhohlen lassen, so geschiehet dieses doch nur um Gewinns willen, deszhalb auch der oft angeführte Voetius, p. 656, mit verschiedenen *rationibus* beweisen wollen, dasz der Endzweck von der Tauffe bey solchen verruchten bösen Buben nicht gesucht, am allerwenigsten aber erhalten, und aus dieser heiligen Handlung von ihnen nur ein Gespött gemacht würde, welches wir doch an seinen Ort gestellet seyn, und die unschuldigen kleinen Kinder der erbarmenden Gnade GOTTes überlassen wollen.'

#### 10.—CRIPPLED ANGELS

Do the Romané, as a rule, think that one mutilated in this world will be so in the next? A boy was shot in the leg, and, owing to neglect, must either lose the limb or his life. His mother would not allow the limb to be taken off because, she said, she could not have him a one-legged angel for all eternity. This seems as if it must have been a belief borrowed from the Indians across the Missouri river.

MARY A. OWEN.

ST. JOSEPH, Mo., U.S.A.,

15th Nov. 1911.

#### 11.—SPANISH GYPSIES

The Rev. J. A. Wylie's *Daybreak in Spain* (London, no date, but detailing a tour in 1869) devotes only a few lines to the Gypsies (pages 342-3).

'Occasionally along the course of the railway come bits of hedge formed of the cactus, with its club-like leaves and its strong barbs. And, perched behind these bits of hedge, is seen at times a gipsy encampment. Around it is a littering of straw, rags, and chips of willow, with half-naked children playing about; and, as the train passes, one may see a soft face with dark Oriental eyes peering out between the folds of the canvas. . . .

'The gipsies in Spain are supposed to amount to 40,000. They make their livelihood by selling sand, manufacturing baskets, and clipping and doctoring mules. To these arts they add the less reputable ones of begging, thieving, and fortune-telling. Any one who will cross their palm with even the smallest coin, will forthwith learn what great things await him in the future. This skill in

palmistry is taken advantage of by many who nevertheless affect to disbelieve it. The gitanos get drunk and quarrel; they hatch robberies and spill blood; and generally are at war with a world which is at war with them.

'Their women, if not beautiful, are pretty. Their faces, though dark, are pleasing; their figures are handsome, their hands small, and their eyes burn with the fire of the East. In dress they show a preference for gaudy colours. They wear a red silk handkerchief on their head, tied under the chin; their waist is enveloped in a yellow boddice, slashed with velvet, and sleeves which leave their arms bare to the elbow. A red flannel petticoat, descending but to mid-calf, and bare feet, complete their *tout ensemble*. The men have something of a scowl upon their faces; but the looks of the women are more kindly.'

ALEX. RUSSELL.

## 12.—SONGS OF LURIBEN AND KURIBEN

Miss Gillington, in her *Songs of the Open Road* (pp. 24-5), has published another version of the Romani *gili*, '*Mandi jall'd to pur a grai*,' about which something has already been said in this journal (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 158-9). What was precisely the charm which popularised these verses so widely among English Gypsies that tattered remnants are still treasured by almost every family, is not apparent in any fragment yet recorded. In the hope of aiding some future specialist to reconstruct them, we give here three more variants, the first two of which were obtained 'at the prastering of the grais at Epsom' before June 1910, and the last 'from the Egyptian rogues about Watford and Radlett' in January 1912. They were written down by Mr. Robert Phillimore, and forwarded to the Gypsy Lore Society by the Rev. C. L. Marson, to both of whom the gratitude of the Society is due. They have, as Mr. Phillimore himself says, 'all the ugliness of the genuine article.'

- (1) *Mandi* went in a *woš*  
To *tšin* a bit of *koš*,  
And *mandi* got *prastered*  
Because he couldn't *džel*.

Up stepped the *bala*.  
*Kako puk* of *mandi*;  
Hit him in the *pur*.

When *mandi džel'd* in the *woš*,  
*Muskro* wanted to *lal* him  
'Cause he *tšin'd* the *koš*.  
*Mandi* wouldn't *džel*.

- (2) All through the *rakoli*  
Kicking up a *gudali*  
'Long came a *muskro*.  
Tell *dad* *le'd*!

Up with my *vastu*,  
Hit him a *nobbalo*.  
S'up me *diri dad*,  
And he can't call [*kur*] well!

*Ušitel* [?] *didikai*,  
Your father's gone to *puv* the *grai*,  
Na [?] near] the *tober skai* [?],  
Six o'clock in the morning.

- (3) Well done my *Romani tšavi* !  
*Del* him up the *maiša*,  
Like my dear old *dádus* ;  
Then he did *kor* well !

*Mandi* went round to the *stāges*  
To *tšor* a bit of *kost* :  
Out come the *vešhengro*.  
Well done my *Romani tšavi* !

Did him on the knob :  
That's the way to *kor* my *Romani tšavi*.  
If you're like my dear old *dádus*,  
Then you do *kor* well.

Up came the *gavengro*  
To *lel mandi apre*.  
*Prasti* my *Romani tšavi*  
Like my dear old *dad* ;  
Then you do *džel* well !

13.—THE MARVELLOUS RELATION OF 'ROBERT SMITH, GYPSY, A TRUE  
BELIEVER IN MULLERS'

The following ghost-story was written out for me by Tommy Smith, *alias* Lee, *alias* Boswell, son of Lovinia Smith by her second husband Kenza Boswell. Tommy, who is a manufacturer and retailer of *fosheno drabs*, sometimes describes himself as 'a bit of a journalist,' on the strength of having helped some one to make a Romani translation of the Lord's Prayer for *Tit Bits* ! His literary ability hardly entitles him to rank himself with Engelbert Wittich of Pforzheim. Still, his tale may afford a few minutes' amusement, as an example of the way in which English Gypsies write their language. W. A. DUTT.

I Puckerd tuty I Was going to Bitcher tuty a Mullers hokerben you Will find it on the other Side of this Paper But do Excuse My Bad Spelling as tuty gin romanychell are not very clever in that Way But I am doing My Best hoping you Will Be able to understand it. I Should Put a lot of rominess in But I am sorry to Say I can not Spell it like tuty I Wish I could. the tale I am going to tell you happined in My Mothers girlhood When She Was With her Mammy and dady But I do hope you Wont think me a half dindlow for Sending you this Muller tale. you Know all romanychell are Jaw trasht of Mullers.

Now at the time I am Writing Says old robert Smith the real romanychell Mosh I Was hatching With My folky in one of the Most lonelyst Parts of yorkshire and I used to Keep a Vaver thmsker Miler Which Means a Spanish donkey My Wife had Been ill Meny days and could not Kel any Bootsy So I Was forced to Jal Evere My cockro to lel Mandys giverben I had leld doster lover that divous and liviner tie So I can Pucker tuty I Was Very Mortow and thinking about My Dear romide geled carie rather Sig But to My Surprise When I got carie My romide Was Very Nafflow So I had to get apray My Milers dumer and

Kister Store Meors to lel the drabblingrow. you Must Know By this time I Was quite Sober. But coming Back from the doctor I took as I thought a Nearer cut through Some fields and coming out upon four cross roads My Miler Kicked and jumped about I thought he Was going Mad he had Never Served me this trick Before I Was all of a dripping Sweat and Was My donkey. Now turning around I Saw a Borrow cover coming out of the Bore it looked like a Pig for all the World his Eyes Was as Balls of fire he rund under My donkeys legs I Struck at him With My Stick serveal time But could not tutch him. at last he Put his tail in his Mouth and turned around three times and left me I Set My donkey going for all he Was Worth. how I got home I can not tell But When I reached the door of My tent I fell in in a exorsted condition When I came to Myself finding the doctor had Been tending My Wife he asked me the corse of My Exsitement I Explained to him all I could But he did not seem to Be a Bit Surprised as others had Seen the Same. But When the drabblingrow had gone I Puckerd Mandys romide Sorkin cover about the Muller I Was so trashed and so Was She. in a few days She Was herself again I soon cheved My gry in the Wardow Packed up My Bits of covers and Pend Kosto divous to this Mulnew tan I Will Never have adoie apopley.

#### 14.—GYPSY CURES

The following cures for whooping cough are from Mrs. Burton, who guarantees the efficacy of the second from personal experience :—

1. Take the thick stem of an ivy plant—the kind that climbs up trees—make cup-like holes in it, and allow water to stand in these holes, adding a few black ivy berries. After the water has stood for a day and a night it is ready for the patient.

2. Get three-eighths of an ounce of white vitriol, adding about a pint and a half of spring water, and drink it.

ALFRED JAMES.

#### 15.—ERZERUM GYPSIES

Monsieur Arnold van Gennep kindly sends the following quotation from Sven Hedin's *Overland to India* (London, Macmillan, 1910), vol. i. p. 55 :—

‘According to M. Srabyan (French vice-consul at Erzerum, an Armenian by origin) some dozens of gipsy families of Christian faith are to be found in the territory of Erzerum. They lead a wandering life, but are distinguished from other nomad tribes in the country by their religion and language. The latter is an Armenian dialect mixed with a number of Sanscrit and Parthian words. According to tradition these gipsies came originally from Egypt.’

#### 16.—A TRADITION OF ORIGIN AND OTHER GLEANINGS

A few days ago I visited a Gypsy named Braun in Schweidnitz, a town not far from Striegau. He is a harp-player and horse-dealer, and, unlike the Gypsies who have hitherto been met in Breslau and Liegnitz, belongs to the German and not to the Hungarian section of the race. He began by denying the existence of chiefs; but when, in the course of conversation, I happened to mention Wittich's *pale žido*, my Gypsy woke up, talked about *duleskero vast* and then of chieftains! According to him, a Gypsy is *pale žido* who accidentally drinks

from a glass from which a knacker (*Rossschlächter*) has previously drunk. If, however, he has witnesses, for example his father or elder brother, that he did it unintentionally, the chief on their evidence declares him clean. A horse-slaughterer must not so much as touch a Gypsy waggon, or it is lost.

Concerning the origin of the Gypsies, Braun said :—‘We are the most ancient people. We cannot work now, nor have we worked in the past. In the beginning we lived in caves, but the Swabian Knights came and drove us from the land, and since then we have been obliged to wander.’ Is the reference to Swabian Knights a reminiscence of the Crusades, or of the immigration of Swabians into Hungary?

The German Gypsies seem to observe their customs more strictly than Hungarian Gypsies in Germany, for Fräulein Plinzner writes that her Gypsies in Berlin have bought a waggon in which an old *Romungrî* had died.

REINHOLD URBAN.

#### 17.—BRITISH GYPSY CRIMES, 1911

The statistics of British Gypsy Crime for the year 1911, made by the same methods as previously, are tabulated below. Their interpretation is somewhat difficult, because one fact which must be taken into account—and that the most important fact of all—is unknown : the Gypsy population of the British Isles. Hoyland in his *Historical Survey* (York, 1816) says, on p. 169, that it had come to his knowledge that a member of Parliament had stated to the House of Commons ‘that there were not less than 36,000 Gypsies in Great Britain.’ To this estimate Hoyland objected that ‘To make up such an aggregate, the numerous hordes must have been included, who traverse most of the nation with carts and asses, for the sale of earthenware, and live out of doors great part of the year, after the manner of the Gypsies.’ This objection would of course scarcely apply, if one used the M.P.’s figure in considering our statistics; for nothing can be more certain than that such travellers and dilute Gypsies are classified as *tatse Romane* by the policeman and the magistrate. But when Hoyland sat down to count the cost of educating the Gypsies (p. 254) he halved the number and took the Gypsy population at 18,000. Roberts in *The Gypsies* (London, 1836), p. 174, said that the Gypsies in Great Britain had ‘been calculated to exceed’ 30,000, probably referring to the M.P.’s estimate; and Hoyland’s 18,000 was copied by many writers and may still be described as ‘popular.’ Kohl (*Ireland, Scotland, and England*, 1844, vol. iii. p. 192) considered it overrated, and Borrow in *The Zingari*, ed. 1908, p. 32) gave as his opinion that ‘The English Gypsies at the present day are far from being a numerous race : I consider their aggregate number, from the opportunities which I have had of judging, to be considerably under ten thousand.’ Joseph Lucas in ‘Petty Romany’ (*Nineteenth Century*, October 1880, p. 592) reduced the estimate for England and Wales to ‘over 8000,’ and James Simson in his *Contributions to Natural History* (Edinburgh, 1880), p. 111, quotes a writer in *Chambers’s Journal* who said that ‘In England there are at most 1500 Gypsies.’ This mean figure, of course, roused his indignation, his own estimates varying between a quarter of a million and 600,000. In contrast with this exaggerated reckoning is Walter Simson’s more reasonable opinion that the M.P. was nearer the truth than Hoyland (*History of the Gypsies*, p. 92).

Here we may leave the subject, merely claiming that for police and statistical purposes 36,000 may perhaps be the best figure to use, since it includes the *pašrats*; while those who wish for an estimate of the number of purer Gypsies in the country may, until more reliable figures are made available, use Hoyland’s century-old estimate of 18,000.



1. Damaging turf, etc., by camping, . . . . .	30	
Camping on the highway, . . . . .	40	
Allowing horses to stray, . . . . .	92	
Obstructing road, van unattended, etc., . . . . .	10	
Want of water-supply or sanitary accommodation, . . . . .	6	
Sleeping out, . . . . .	2	
Making fires within fifty feet of road, . . . . .	7	
	—	187
2. Furious riding or driving, . . . . .	3	
Cart or van without lights, . . . . .	10	
No name on cart or van, . . . . .	6	
Dog without licence or collarless, . . . . .	5	
Hawking without a licence, . . . . .	7	
Gun and trap without a licence, . . . . .	2	
School-attendance, etc., . . . . .	8	
Drinking when not <i>bona fide</i> travellers, . . . . .	2	
	—	43
3. Poaching, . . . . .	33	
Taking wood, sticks, etc., . . . . .	22	
Fortune-telling, . . . . .	7	
Hoaxing with fortune-telling, . . . . .	4	
	—	66
4. Cruelty to horses, . . . . .	10	
Begging, . . . . .	10	
Cruelty to, or neglect of, children, . . . . .	4	
Deserting, or not maintaining, wife, . . . . .	4	
	—	28
5. Assaults (including assaults on police), . . . . .	21	
Family quarrels, . . . . .	7	
Drunkenness, simple, . . . . .	31	
„ with horses, . . . . .	4	
„ with children, . . . . .	2	
Obstructing police, . . . . .	2	
Obscene language, . . . . .	20	
Using threats, . . . . .	3	
	—	90
6. Thefts, value less than ten shillings, . . . . .	15	
„ value more than ten shillings, . . . . .	18	
Horse-stealing, . . . . .	2	
Stealing by ruse (not fortune-telling), . . . . .	17	
Receiving stolen property, . . . . .	2	
House-breaking, . . . . .	1	
	—	55
7. Child-murder (Rose Loveridge), . . . . .	1	
	—	1
		170

## 18.—A GYPSY SALOME

The following verses from Baraton's *Poésies diverses*, 1704, if it does not add to our scientific knowledge of Gypsies, is at all events an entertaining story about their ingenuity. It shows also that in 1704, and in France, they had a reputation as dancers.

## LES BOHEMIENES.

Un fameux Vagabond, Chef de Bohemiens,  
 A peu près comme d'Ambreville,  
 Etant mort en passant dans une bonne Ville,  
 Sa femme qu'il laissoit pauvre, & sans aucuns biens,  
 Mais du reste fine drolesse,  
 Fit tant qu'elle trouva moyen  
 Par son esprit, & son adresse,  
 De le faire inhumer comme un gros Citoyen.  
 A son Enterrement plusieurs Prêtres parurent.  
 Pour retribution, sçavez-vous ce qu'ils eurent ?  
 Le Service fini, la Veuve toute en pleurs,  
 Pour mieux jouer sa mommerie,  
 Leur dit en soupirant : Messieurs,  
 Vous n'avez qu'à venir à mon hotellerie,  
 Et l'on vous y satisfera.  
 C'est assez, dirent-ils, chacun se retira ;  
 Et tous ensemble au bout d'une heure,  
 Pour toucher leur salaire exacts & diligens,  
 Se rendirent à sa demeure.  
 Elle avoit une fille environ de douze ans,  
 Elle luy fit le bec ; & la fausse femelle,  
 Quand les Prêtres vinrent chez elle,  
 Les montrant à sa fille avec des airs dolens ;  
 Ecoute, dit-elle, Isabelle,  
 Ces Messieurs aujourd'huy pour ton pere ont chanté.  
 Quoy, répondit la fille, ils ont eu la bonté  
 De chanter pour defunt mon pere ?  
 Sonnez du tabourin, ma mere,  
 Et moy je danſeray pour les remercier.  
 Les Prêtres en voyant cette forfanterie,  
 Et de quelle monoye on vouloit les payer,  
 Eux qui, comme l'on sçait, aiment bien le denier,  
 S'en allerent tout en furie.

19.—BRUCHSTÜCKE AUS DEM UNGARISCH-ZIGEUNERISCHEN SPRACHBUCH DES  
 ZIGEUNERS NAGY-IDAI SZTOJKA FERENCZ, (FRANZ STOJKA VON NAGY-IDA) :  
*Románé álává.* AUS DEM UNGARISCHEN ÜBERSETZT.

Die Zigeunernamen sind in zigeunerischer Schreibung wiedergegeben, die ungarischen Orts- und Comitatsnamen in magyarischer Schreibung. Der Akzent (*á, é, ó, ú*) bedeutet immer Dehnung.

*Die Stämme der Zigeuner.*

Aus dem Geschlecht des Kucui und Djordji stammen die Piránceštji. Aus dem Geschlecht der Čiriklji und Ruva stammen die Jáneštji. Die Piránceštji wohnen grösstenteils im Jász- und Heves-Komitat, die Jáneštji in der Gegend von Szentes und Pécska. Die Nachkommenschaft ist durch Misch-Ehen meist verwischt und spricht das Zigeunerische gebrochen.

Aus dem Geschlecht des Zdrávnó und Piránca kommt der Kázákéštji-Stamm, der zum grössten Teil in der Gegend von Waitzen (ungarisch : Vác) wohnt und die echte Zigeunersprache hat.

Von Kokoljó stammen die Pujéstji, die gebildetsten Zigeuner. Sie sind schon zum grössten Teil im Pester Komitat angesiedelt, und wohnten früher in Ráczeve.

Von Bogoštjó stammen die Bogoštjó; sie wohnen meist in Komárom-Komitat; sie reden schnell und aus vollem Halse (laut!).

Von dem Vajda (Hauptling, Woivode) Nénéka stammen die Čokéstji, und die Tutéstji, in Szentes angesiedelt; die Tutéstji wandern meist in Békés-Komitat.

Die Nachkommen von Kekeráno und Purca sind die Porizinäre und Pátrinäre; sie wohnen in der Gegend von Nagyvárad (Gross-Wardein) und beschäftigen sich mit der Herstellung von Sieben. Ausserdem sind sie meist Wegelagerer und Diebe. Ihre Sprache ist walachisch (rumänisch) und anders als die übrigen. Das Geschlecht der Čámléstji und Gránčéstji kennt seine Vorfahren nicht. Sie wohnen in der Gegend von Pressburg (Pozsony) und Raab (Győr) und sind die zerlumptesten unter den Zigeunern. Ihre Kleider schmücken sie mit Muscheln, und die Weiber ihre Haare und Schürzen mit weissen Knöpfen.

Von Rofojla stammen die Kopéčéstji (und) Ráfáel, ansässig in der Gegend von Vác und Körösládány; sie reden ein reines Zigeunerisch und fertigen Kuhglocken an (Kolompárlás).

Die Kelderarók (Kelderarer) haben kein Land, keine Heimat, ihre Freude besteht im Wandern, sie ernähren sich vom Kesselflicken und Gravieren.

Die Muldenmacher unter den Zigeunern kommen aus Bulgarien; mit ihnen können die übrigen Stämme der Zigeuner nicht sprechen, weil sie Walachen (?) sind. Sie wohnen in Wäldern und vertragen Stadt- und Dorfwohnungen nicht.

Die Musikanten haben nur die halbe Sprache der Zigeuner, und auch diese sprechen sie in jeder Stadt anders.

#### *Die Wanderungen der Zigeuner.*

In der Zeit der Barbaren stand schon die Burg Nagy-Ida. Die aus Afrika kommenden Zigeuner fanden da ihre Unterkunft. Das Jahr, in dem sie sie besetzten, weiss man nicht, und ob sie die Burg gebaut haben, oder die Barbaren, —auch nicht.

Nach mündlicher Überlieferung will ich euch erzählen, was die Zigeuner aus Nagy-Ida vertrieben hat. In jener Zeit war die Burg nicht mit Gewalt einzunehmen; wer es versuchte verlor seine Mannschaften dort.

Mit grossen Scharen waren sie in Kis (klein) Ida und Nagy (gross) Ida, hatten ihre Burg, und es war das Zigeunervolk ein Kriegervolk. Sie hatten zwar keine richtigen Gewehre, doch mit ihnen zusammenzutreffen, traute sich auch Attila nicht.

Viele Länder eroberte Attila, er kam mit grosser Macht nach Nagyida, doch die Zigeuner siegten, und Attila musste ihre Burg in Frieden lassen.

Die Zigeuner blieben ruhig, hatten Gold und Silber in Hülle und Fülle, viel Geschirr, Gläser, Service, so dass es ihnen an nichts mangelte.

Doch da sie sich nicht gern mit Feldarbeit beschäftigten, brachten ihnen die fruchtlosen Felder bald Hungersnot.

Die Zigeuner, die das nicht aushielten, wollten sich nun in der Welt mal umsehen, wandern, Kessel flicken, Bohrer anfertigen, in verschiedenen Ländern. Ihre schöne Burg überliessen sie dem Paul Stojka; Burg und Hauptling brauchen sie nicht, sie würden in Zelten wohnen.

Nach neun Seiten verteilten sie sich und wurden neun Stämme. Die Kinder und Frauen auf den Pferden, wanderten sie gegen Osten—Norden.

Der erste Teil nahm den Weg nach Debreczen, und da sie sich dort wohl fühlten, bauten sie ihre Zelte. Der zweite Teil ging nach Szegedin, doch da sie dort nicht geduldet wurden, gingen sie nach Dorozma.

Die dritte und vierte Gruppe wollten Ungarn durchwandern, die fünfte und sechste zogen nach Bosnien.

Die siebente ging über die Donau nach Sinnontorony. Die achte und neunte Gruppe ging nach Siebenbürgen, die einen nach Hermannstadt (Nagyszében), die andern nach Klausenburg (Kolozsvár).

Tal und Hügel in Ungarn hallten von ihnen wieder, später fiel auch den Deutschen etwas ab, denn die neun Zweige mit den Nachfolgern Jubal's lieferten Musikanten auch für das liebe Deutschland. U. s. w.

Noch 45 vierzeilige Verse ! ! !

R. URBAN.

## 20.—GYPSIES AT AYLESBURY

*A History of Aylesbury*, by R. Gibbs (Aylesbury, 1885), contains two mentions of Gypsies in connection with that town, one of them apparently taken from the Parish Register for March 1739-40: 'Edward Bozwell, called the King of the Gypsies, was executed for horse-stealing, as was also Edward Smyth, another gypsy, together with Richard Tavener' (p. 358). This Gypsy king can hardly be identical with the father of 'Ashena, daughter of Edward and Greenleaf Boswell' buried at Stretham, near Ely, in 1783,<sup>1</sup> as her father's name probably would not be recorded, unless he were living at the time of her death.

The other reference is of a later date and is taken from the 'Papers published by the Committee established at Aylesbury in 1845, for the purpose of Collecting and Diffusing Information on the Punishment of Death,' which appeared in local newspapers:—'At the Spring Assize, 1802, James Ayres, more popularly known as "Jemmy the Gipsy," was convicted, at Aylesbury, of sheep stealing, sentenced to be hanged, and left for execution; the execution was delayed. Executions were in those days so frequent that Jemmy was not missed among the victims by the populace under the scaffold. Nor was much public astonishment excited, or any questions asked, when, a few weeks after, he was seen superintending the farm labourers of the then Under Sheriff. After the responsibilities of this occupation were ended for the day, each evening Jemmy regularly returned to gaol;—dead in Law, dead in the opinion of the Judge who had left him to die according to Law,—but trusting, even in matter of life or death, to the good nature of the Under Sheriff, and to the honourable understanding thus established between them. After some time, Jemmy began to take liberties, and would visit the alehouse in his way home to gaol, and remain there to an undue hour, knocking at the gaol door for admittance when the night was far spent. On these occasions, the gaoler would rebuke him severely for keeping the gaol servants up to wait on him (Jemmy), and threaten that, next time, he (Jemmy) should find himself locked out! In which case, what would become of him (Jemmy)? Then there was a begging for forgiveness, and a promise of future regularity in his hours of return to that place from whence his sentence had been that he should be "taken to the place of execution," &c., &c., &c. More than once, too, a remonstrance was made by the Under Sheriff about a bad day's work performed, and then always a threat of "I'll hang you next week, Jemmy." But Jemmy knew the kind-hearted Under Sheriff better. Three or four years rolled on in this triple league between convict, gaoler, and Under Sheriff. The last that was seen of Jemmy in public, at Aylesbury, was on the occasion of a harvest home supper, given by the Under Sheriff to his labourers, in the garden at the back of his house, Jemmy playing the fiddle to the dancers. Shortly afterwards an order

<sup>1</sup> Groome, *In Gipsy Tents*, p. 117.

was sent by the Under Sheriff to the gaoler to liberate Jemmy, who parted from his friends with regret on all sides' (p. 498).

The spectacle of a convict under sentence of death walking unattended about the streets on his or her business does not seem to have been uncommon in Aylesbury. An instance is given of a woman whose warrant for some reason took a long time coming, and in the interval she was allowed to go out scrubbing. Less fortunate than Jemmy, she received the warrant when cleaning up a public-house, and philosophically remarking that 'what must be, must,' asked for a drop before she went, adding it would be her last drop but one (p. 497). But such stolidity is surely exceptional in a Gypsy, and, though he probably saved his neck by not attempting to escape, Jemmy must have been a singularly tame specimen of his race not to risk it.

Besides these definitely Gypsy items there are one or two others which look suspiciously like references to Gypsies. 'In March 1814, Charles White was executed at Reading for horse-stealing; in 1812 he had a son hanged at Aylesbury; the old fellow stood among the crowd to see the execution as an ordinary spectator, and witnessed the awful scene with the greatest composure. The populace were so incensed against him that but for the interference of the Aylesbury constables his life would have been in danger; he had three sons under sentence of death at one time' (p. 545).

That there was and is a Gypsy family named White has already been shown in another note,<sup>1</sup> and that some of them still travel in the neighbourhood of Reading. Nor is horse-stealing unknown in their family. So recently as 1870 George White, a hawker, aged 45, was sentenced to eighteen months' hard labour for stealing a mare from another hawker, David Cain, at Wokingham.<sup>2</sup> There is therefore a fair probability that Charles belonged to this clan: and their unfortunate propensity may perhaps account for the fact that, though this Gypsy family has certainly existed for over 250 years, it is still a very small clan. As the first recorded instance of the name is in conjunction with some of the Wood family before their migration to Wales, it may perhaps be worth mentioning that in 1878 one of the Whites had a verdict of manslaughter returned against him for killing his paramour, a Gypsy named Eliza Woods, on Bulford Down near Salisbury.<sup>3</sup>

Some doubt, however, attaches to Charles White and his sons, as none of the accounts that I have been able to find refer to them as Gypsies or hawkers or travellers, and the sons seem to have passed under the rather ill-omened *alias* for horse-stealers—Exile, possibly their mother's name. Charles, it appears, was notorious and suspected of many thefts; and he was tried at the Lent Assizes at Reading in 1812, along with his sons Thomas and James. Thomas was sentenced to death, James was transferred to Hereford to take his trial there for the theft of a Herefordshire man's horse, and apparently was condemned also, while the father was acquitted. Simultaneously Joseph White *alias* Exile, and John Exile were condemned at the Buckingham Assizes, and left for execution. The sentence was executed, as already mentioned on Joseph, but what became of John I have failed to discover. The father was again prosecuted at the Lent Assizes in 1814 at Reading, condemned and executed on the 26th or 28th of March, when he is described as Charles White, late of East Woodhay, Hants.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iv. 304.

<sup>2</sup> *Times*, 27th Dec. 1869; *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 1st Jan. 1870.

<sup>3</sup> *Times*, 7th and 10th Oct. 1878.

<sup>4</sup> For Charles White's case cf. the *Reading Mercury*, March 14 and 28, 1814, and a contemporary diary edited by the Rev. C. H. Ditchfield under the title *Reading Seventy Years Ago* (Reading, 1887), pp. 13 and 16. For his sons' trials and executions cf. the *Reading Mercury*, March 9 and 30, 1812, and *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, March 7, 1812.

At any rate, if not Gypsies themselves, they probably were mixed up with them, as most horse-thieves on an extensive scale seem to have been. Witness John Poulter *alias* Baxter, whose remarks on the Romney Cant have been quoted in the *Journal*<sup>1</sup>; and also James Clase, *alias* Blue Jimmy, who started life as a post-boy at Salisbury, afterwards joined the Gypsies, and was executed at Ilchester on April 25, 1827, for the same crime. Though only 48 at the time of his death, he confessed to over a hundred thefts of horses.

It has nothing to do with the point; but I cannot forbear mentioning that another Gypsy suffered the extreme penalty at Ilchester in the same year. John Burton, a tinker, aged 30, was executed on September 12 for assault and robbery committed at Priddy Fair. He was the head of a gang who infested local fairs for that purpose: and tradition states that his father, like Charles White, attended the execution and exhorted him to die like a man. My authority,<sup>2</sup> which is dated 1895, adds that a son of his had recently died and been buried, by request, in his father's grave. Also, that many years after the offence was committed, another of the gang, who had 'attained a highly respectable position and was a horse-dealer in a large way of business,' was tried at Taunton for the same offence and acquitted. Can any one supply the name of the son or of the accomplice, who was probably a Gypsy too?

To return to the Aylesbury book. Other suspicious names are those of Mary Web, a girl of thirteen, Isabella Harris, a widow, Eliza Harris, her daughter, and Eliza Collins, who are mentioned (p. 379) as being publicly whipped as vagrants at Burnham, Bucks, in 1699, and John Wilson and David Butler who were hanged at Aylesbury, the former in 1801, the latter some time later, for horse-stealing (p. 543). The Wilsons are well known as Scottish Gypsies, and some Gypsies of the name may be found as far south as Norfolk; and all the other names which occur on this list have appeared in our 'Affairs of Egypt.' I must admit that the members of these clans who have fallen under my personal observation have all seemed very diluted *pošrats*, but their connection with the roads is far from recent, as the following references will show, and it is therefore difficult to tell, whether any Gypsy blood there may be in them comes to them from remote Gypsy ancestors, as is probably the case with Scottish tinklers, or by recent intermarriage with Gypsies. Such questions can only be safely solved by elaborate research into Gypsy pedigrees and the publication of all records concerning vagrants of any kind.

The latter is my only excuse for giving the following references. John Harrys appears on Harman's list of rogues, and a similarly named person (John Harris), is among a list of vagrants in the *Middlesex County Records*, under the date Oct. 6, 1590, along with one Thomas Web. 'Zusanna f. Gulielmi Harris peregrini' was baptized at Chinnor, Oxfordshire, 30 July 1749. 'Ann, dau<sup>r</sup>. of Elizabeth Harris, a traveller, and base born,' was christened at Newenden, Kent, on Aug. 27, 1797. John Webb was prosecuted for hawking glasses, 30 Sept., 1688. 'Noah, s. of Ellinor Webbe, a wandering beggar,' was buried at Wrockwardine, Shropshire, on Aug. 25, 1698. 'Walter Webb, Soj., but of the p. of Cane in Wilts,' married Hannah Butler at Bruton, Somerset, on Apr. 3, 1739; and that Calne was a place frequented by Gypsies is shown by the tomb of Inverto Boswell there. Lucretia Webb (*née* Smith, a sister of Wisdom Smith) was buried at Headington Quarry on March 6, 1878, aged 50 years. Rosa Butler was prosecuted as a vagrant on June 21, 1620; 'Margaret Butler, taken at the Cittie of Oxford, was whipped here and sent to Stanton, in the Countie of

<sup>1</sup> New Series, vol. v., pp. 78-9.

<sup>2</sup> W. H. Hamilton Rogers, *West-Country Stories and Sketches* (Exeter, 1895), p. 113. Cf. also the *Times*, Aug. 22, 1827, for Burton's trial at the Somersetshire Assizes at Bridgewater on Aug. 20.

Glocester, where she last dwelled with a pasport, and hath for that here travile xl daies,' on June 18, 1600; and on the 27th of December in the same year Rich. Butler was whipt at Oxford, and 'sent to St. Edes in com. Huntingdon, where he last dwelt ut dixit.'<sup>1</sup>

To take the taste of that wearisome enumeration out of the reader's mouth I will conclude, apropos of nothing in particular but the casual mention of Inverto Boswell just above, with a description of what remains of his tomb given by A. E. W. Marsh in his book called *A History of the Borough and Town of Calne* (Calne, 1904?, p. 163), which contains some details that I have not seen elsewhere. 'Outside in the west wall [of the south porch of the church of St. Mary] are three panels of a monument of rather interesting character. The centre panel bears a rearing horse sculptured in relief, and, together with the other two panels, formed at one time part of an altar-shaped tomb erected to the memory of Inverto Boswell, King of the Gipsies, who died in Calne on Feb. 8th, 1774. The entry in the burial register is as follows:—"1774, Feb. 10, a gipsey named Inverto Boswell died in the small-pox." The complete tomb stood on the south side of the churchyard, and it is said that for many years after the interment of the king his subjects used to visit the resting-place of his ashes on the anniversary of his death, and perform certain, probably commemorative, ceremonies. At the restoration of the church in 1864 the tomb was demolished, and three panels from it placed in their present position.' A footnote adds: 'It is an article of faith with some of the present day gipsies of the neighbourhood that the shade of Inverto Boswell visits at times the place of burial. Indeed, one of them confidently asserted to me that he has seen the ghostly visitant, but how he recognised it as Inverto's ghost he does not appear to know.' Can any of our members confirm this last detail or say why Inverto, who was only thirty-six at the time of his death, should be so well remembered? It may be noted that the kingly title depends only on *gájo* tradition, it is not claimed for him in the burial entry nor in the inscription on the tomb quoted by Morwood.<sup>2</sup>

E. O. WINSTEDT.

## 21.—HENRY KEMBLE, THE ACTOR, AND THE GYPSY LEES

'There was no better company in the world than poor old Beetle' (this was a nickname of Kemble), 'and I used to look forward to those Sunday evenings, which were generally prolonged until the small hours, bemoaning our exile, discussing absent friends at the "Beefsteak," or listening to my friend's lengthy dissertations on the Lee family, an ancient gipsy stock of which Kemble used to solemnly aver that he was a lineal descendant.'<sup>2</sup>—*My Restless Life*, by Harry de Windt (1909), p. 337.

W. A. DUTT.

## 22.—A RULING RACE OF GYPSIES

Captain C. W. J. Orr, R.A., in his book on *The Making of Northern Nigeria* (London, Macmillan, 1911), conjecturally compares two races with Gypsies. Of one, the Shuwa Arabs, who are found in Bornu, the most easterly province of the Protectorate, bordering on Lake Tchad, he says little:—'Besides the Bornuese themselves and the various subject pagan tribes, there are scattered throughout

<sup>1</sup> The two last references are taken from a list of passports granted to vagrants, numbered N.4.2, among the records in the Town Clerk's office at Oxford. I have to thank the Town Clerk for permission to examine this and other documents.

<sup>2</sup> *Our Gipsies*, pp. 176-8.

Bornu large numbers of Shuwa Arabs, speaking almost pure Egyptian Arabic, and leading a more or less nomadic life. They are great breeders of cattle, and bear a strong resemblance both in features and habits to some of our gipsy tribes. They were said, in Denham's time [1821], to be able to put into the field 15,000 warriors, mostly mounted—a useful addition to the Bornuese army.' They came no doubt from Egypt, for, on p. 65, Captain Orr says: '... Islam was introduced into the districts bordering on Lake Tchad from the direction of Egypt in the eleventh century.'

The second race occupies a position of exceptional importance, since its function for a century has been to supply rulers to native states. Of them Captain Orr relates:—'The Fulanis, known also as Fellata, Fulahs, Pulbe, Puls, and by various synonyms, are unquestionably the most remarkable and interesting of all the tribes and nations of Equatorial Africa. Their origin is as obscure as that of the Hausas, but they differ fundamentally from the latter in almost every particular. The true Fulani is not negroid. His complexion is fair, his features regular, his hair long and straight. He speaks a language which resembles no other African tongue, but which has been stated by more than one authority to resemble that spoken by gipsies, and to be akin to the Indo-Germanic stock. He is nomadic, and is primarily a cattle-owner, driving his herds from pasture to pasture . . . it is generally believed that the Fulani came from the East, possibly from India, possibly from Arabia, but curiously enough he is first known in Africa in the extreme west, not far from the shores of the Atlantic, and in historical times his movements have been from west to east. Fulanis have always kept aloof from other races, and have looked upon themselves as a "white race," infinitely superior to the negro. Their pride of race has been justified, for, in practically all the principal kingdoms of Equatorial Africa, a Fulani has at one time or another played a leading part, and the race has always produced scholars and statesmen from amongst its members.'

A footnote explains that 'The root of the word, "Ful," signifies red or ruddy, and denotes the complexion of the race'; and after mentioning several conjectural theories of origin, Captain Orr passes to 'the more solid realms of history, which take us back to a comparatively recent period, less than a thousand years ago, when Fulanis were undoubtedly settled in the country about the sources of the Niger. When Arab influence spread along the northern shores of Africa and thence pushed its way across the desert, carrying with it the green flag of the Prophet, the Fulani race was one of the first to accept the new religion, and not content with adopting it amongst themselves they proceeded to disseminate it far and wide throughout Equatorial Africa.<sup>1</sup> Thus we find Fulanis preaching the doctrines of Islam in Bornu and the Hausa States as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century. It is evident from the records of history that there must have been from the earliest times considerable differences in social status amongst the members of the tribe, a fact always indicative of an advanced state of civilisation. There was the uneducated nomadic class, wandering from place to place with its flocks and herds, holding itself strictly aloof from other races, and thus preserving to the fullest extent its racial features and characteristics. This class remains to the present day nomadic, exclusive, uneducated, speaking its own tongue, and in many cases retaining its old pagan beliefs. It is to these "Cattle Fulani," as they are termed nowadays, that we must turn if we wish to see the light complexion, the long and pointed noses, and the regular features, which

<sup>1</sup> On p. 256, Captain Orr states that '... Islam was introduced into Hausaland from the West in the middle of the fourteenth century A.D. . . . A century later, according to the [Kano] Chronicle, the Fulani came to Hausaland, bringing with them books on divinity and etymology; for before this there was only the Koran, with the Books of the Law and the Traditions.'



were the obvious characteristics of the race before it intermarried with the negro and negroid peoples of Africa. The intelligence and the administrative capacity which are equally characteristic of the race must be sought in the Fulanis of the aristocratic class, who have risen far above the herdsmen, and in so doing have mingled their blood with the ruling families of negroid tribes, and while retaining their intellectual qualities, have lost many of their distinctive physical traits, and adopted to a great extent the customs and even the language of those with whom they have coalesced.

From the fifteenth century onwards we constantly hear of Fulanis occupying positions of eminence in the African empires of that period, besides forming kingdoms of their own. The members of the aristocratic class seem always to have been characterised by an independence of character and an intellectual ability which marked them out for rule, while the nomadic element showed the same spirit of independence which they preserved in their wandering life, paying a cattle tax, but owning no allegiance to the chiefs in whose territories they pastured their herds.

At the present stage of our knowledge of these people it is useless to elaborate comparisons between them and Gypsies: what we need is measurements of 'Cattle Fulani' and specimens of their language. It may be well to point out, however, that some striking dissimilarities are not fatal to the identification. The fair complexion of the Fulanis may be due to bleaching, if it be not a purely relative term. There are parallels for their religious ability and even for political enthusiasm (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 68), and it is significant that they were the first to change their creed and embrace Islam when conversion was to their advantage. Finally, it is to be noted that the behaviour of Gypsies when in contact with a civilisation lower than their own is a thing of which we have no knowledge, and it is almost impossible to imagine what would be their conduct and history under such unusual circumstances.

### 23.—THE GYPSIES OF GAUDIX

'But the Barrio de Santiago—the gipsy quarter—is its special sight. It is not easy to convey the least impression of the cave-dwellings inhabited by this strange race. They are located on the far slope beyond the Cathedral. The place suggests a huge group of gigantic ant-hills. It seems as though the valley, after being filled up with a twelve-foot-deep deposit of the dry red soil, had been denuded unequally by a flood, so as to be left studded over with peaked heights and hollows. Among these extraordinary unfamiliar mimic hills the gipsies have dug out their dwellings, windowless and, excepting the door, without air or ventilation, save for the chimney, which has been built with dry stones up through the ground above. To the beholder the whole gipsy quarter seems a great field producing a crop of chimneys. Nothing else is seen, except the doors of the dwellings nearest the eye. In these awful hovels, crowded about in hundreds, even in thousands, live the gipsy men, women, and children, cheek by jowl with their poultry and their donkeys. They swarm like rabbits or like ants. They win their bread by stealing, cheating, fortune-telling, and they travel peripatetically and to long distances to practise their dexterous arts. They are, besides, the tinkers and tin-workers of the country; they are the dealers who do all the trade everywhere in donkeys, mules, and horses. They form a large population in Andalusia. More or less they are seen in many of the towns; sometimes they have these settlements or towns quite by themselves, and these are rather nasty places to drive through after nightfall, as I once experienced. They keep singularly by themselves. Their features mark them as a race apart. They speak their own language. They act together in a concerted manner for the relief of

any of their race who has the ill-luck to have come into the clutches of the law.' (Alexander Cross, *Easter in Andalusia*, pp. 32-3, Glasgow, 1902.)

ALEX. RUSSELL.

#### 24.—A TINKER PATRIARCH

'The subject of our brief sketch is old Willie Nowland, the tinker, famed more for his hardiness of nature and longevity, than for his acts of philanthropy, scholarship, or daring. For one hundred years this son of travel has lived, and the other day his mortal remains received the rite of burial in our churchyard. The company consisted of Isaac his son, another man, and two women, including Lizzick White, the bereaved widow; and while the officiating clergyman offered up prayer, the females preferred to smoke the pipe of peace over the grave of their departed friend. Nowland was strong and healthy, and ever ready to do battle in the cause of family wrongs or sorrows. Woe be to the head of a Williamson or Macfee, should they have been guilty of any act of oppression or misconduct when Willie was near. At his bacchanalian shouts the terror in the camp at the quarry or by the dyke side was great; and merry was the fight and much blood shed on his return home. . . . Many attempts have been made to improve the lot of our Orkney tinkers, but to no purpose; as no sooner is a girl clad and partly educated than she rejoins her former friends, and from their unsettled nature no house residence will satisfy them for any length of time.'—*Stromness News*, March 7, 1884.

The above Willie Nowland or Newland is the 'king' mentioned by F. H. Groome in the *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland* in the article on 'Stromness.'

ALEX. RUSSELL.

8th May 1912.

#### 25.—GYPSIES OF CHALDEA

I find a reference to Gypsies in *The Nestorians and their Rituals: with the narrative of a Mission to Mesopotamia and Coordistan in 1842-1844, and of a late visit to those countries in 1850; also, Researches into the present condition of the Syrian Jacobites, Papal Syrians, and Chaldeans, and an inquiry into the religious tenets of the Yezedees*. By the Rev. George Percy Badger, one of the Honourable East India Company's Chaplains in the Diocese of Bombay. London, 1852, vol. i. p. 224.

"I am a Nestoraya," was the reply. To which the other answered: "Why do you not rather call yourself a Meshihaya; for was not the Messiah greater than Nestorius?" "Very true," retorted the girl, "but even the gipsies who play upon the tambourine celebrate the praises of the Messiah, and cry out Isa! Isa! but they are not Christians on that account."

FRED. G. ACKERLEY.

#### 26.—A GYPSY WOMAN PREACHER

Edward Pease, Darlington, the 'Father of Railways,' records in his diary, Thursday, Feb. 4, 1847: 'A female who was born and educated Gipsy (*sic*), but early taken from them, had become a Wesleyan: First day she spoke rather long in the meeting, warning friends to repent, and that days of great distress were coming on the Land, that famine and bloodshed were approaching, that the inhabitants of their country must prepare for it. . . . How far this is the excitement of pious enthusiasm I do not determine, but there was visitation of heavenly love my conversation with her led me to believe.'

Is there any other notice of a woman preacher of Gypsy stock? I do not remember any other record of one.

WILLIAM E. A. AXON.



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## I.—GYPSIES AT GENEVA IN THE 15TH, 16TH, AND 17TH CENTURIES.

By DAVID MACRITCHIE.

IN the *Registres du Conseil* at Geneva there are several very interesting references to Gypsies. They are spoken of as *Saracens* and *Boemi*, or *Boëmiens*, but on at least one occasion (1532) it is stated that they called themselves *Egyptii*, and there is no reason to believe that the two terms first noted were self-applied. Even when the entry only makes mention of Saracens or Bohemians, the editors of the Register have naturally assumed that the people in question were Gypsies. Of this there can be no reasonable doubt.

The earliest entry is of 7th October 1477. It is very brief, and is as follows:—‘*De serrazenis, quod loquatur castellano, quod vacuent villam,*’ or, as subsequently rendered into French, ‘*Sarasins; ordonné qu’on parle au Châtelain pour les faire sortir de la ville.*’<sup>1</sup> This is an early instance of the forcible expulsion of Gypsies, whose visits, although often unwelcome, were everywhere tolerated in the fifteenth century, for at least a few days. There is, however, no indication of the period of their residence in Geneva prior to 7th October 1477.

<sup>1</sup> *Registres du Conseil de Genève* publiés par la Société d’Histoire et d’Archéologie de Genève, t. iii. (Genève, 1911, 8°), p. 44.

The next entry, dated 30th May 1514, is in these words:— '*Sarraseni, mala infinita infra civitatis limites facientes expelluntur et a civitate bampniantur.*'<sup>1</sup> The French rendering is condensed into '*Sarrazins, faisant une infinité de maux, chassés et bannis.*' Here, again, the 'Saracens' appear in the same light as in 1477, as something of the nature of a plague, to be got rid of as effectively as possible.

The third entry in point of date has already been cited by Lacroix in his *Manners and Customs during the Middle Ages*, from the English translation of which<sup>2</sup> I quote his statement:— 'In 1532, at Plainpalais, a suburb of Geneva, some rascals from among a band of Gypsies, consisting of upwards of three hundred in number, fell upon several of the officers who were stationed to prevent their entering the town. The citizens hurried up to the scene of disturbance. The Gypsies retired to the monastery of the Augustin friars, in which they fortified themselves; the bourgeois besieged them, and would have committed summary justice on them, but the authorities interfered, and some twenty of the vagrants were arrested, but they sued for mercy and were discharged.'

As this incident presents more than one notable feature, I shall cite also the original French version, which, like the French versions of 1477 and 1514, is to be found in the MS. '*Extraits des Régistres Publics redigé par Mr. Jaques-Flournois, Ministre du St. Ev.,*' preserved in the state archives of Geneva.<sup>3</sup> The entry is glossed 'Boëmiens,' and is as follows:— '*Certains larrons Boëmiens q se nomment Egyptiens, au nombre de plus de 300 tant hôes q<sup>e</sup> fœs [hommes que femmes], qu'enfans frappent à Plainpalais les Officiers q leur défendoient d'entrer dans la ville: les Citoyens accourent au secours de leurs officiers: les Boemiens se retirent au Couvent des Augustins et s'y fortifient p<sup>r</sup> se défendre: les bourgeois les veulent piller, mais la Justice l'empêche, q en prend une vintaine: ils demande pardon et on les renvoye.*' The date in the margin is 18-19 December 1532.

In the original Register, which is written in Latin, there are two entries relating to this incident. The first is dated 18th December 1532, and consists of the brief statement: '*Propter insultum latronum boemorum qui se dicunt Egiptii, detentis quindecim de illis fuerunt examinati.*' Then, on the 19th Decem-

<sup>1</sup> Genève, *Archives d'État*, Reg. Cons., 17, fol. 217.

<sup>2</sup> London, 1876, p. 462.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. Hist., 48.

ber follows the entry : 'Iste Boemi nuper tricentum et ultra tam virorum quam mulierum et liberorum in Plano Palacii offenderunt officarios sibi civitatem interdicientes, et sicuti cives in sucursum suorum officiariorum currerent, boemi illi se retraxerunt et fortes fecerunt in conventum Augustinorum ut se defenderent; cives voluerunt illos spoliare; justicia obviavit: captis circa viginti qui veniam implorarunt, et propter Deum fuerunt dimissi.'<sup>1</sup>

It will be seen that the French translation by Jaques-Flournois is substantially correct, except that it omits the 'propter Deum' of the last line, an omission repeated by Lacroix. The reason of this may be that the 'Deum' is not legibly written, and the translator was unable to decipher the word. No alternative word, however, suggests itself. Accepting 'propter Deum' as the correct rendering, we find therefore that the Gypsies were pardoned for the sake of God, although they had attacked the officers of the law, and had defended themselves in a neighbouring monastery against the citizens who came to the aid of their officers.

At the first glance it may seem strange that the Gypsies were pardoned at all, and still more strange that they should have been pardoned 'propter Deum.' But it must be remembered that Gypsies were at one time accorded, with what justice may be a matter of argument, all the privileges of pilgrims, and that a certain sanctity attached to them in virtue of that character. Thus, in 1429, on St. Andrew's Eve, the town of Arnhem, in Guelderland, paid six guldens 'to the count of Little Egypt, with his company, to the honour of God'; and at the same time gave 'to the same count and to the Heathen women, to the honour of God, a half malder [a corn measure] of white bread, a barrel of beer, and a hundred herrings.' In the year 1417 the noble Transylvanian family of Horvath presented forty sheep 'to the poor pilgrims out of Egypt, in order that they, returning to Jerusalem, may pray for the salvation of our souls.' Moreover, the citizens of Amiens were granted Papal indulgences and pardons in acknowledgment of alms given by them to an earl of Little Egypt and his company of about forty persons who visited their town in September 1427. It is further to be observed that the Gypsies at Plainpalais in 1532 took refuge, when pressed, in the monastery of the Augustinian friars, where they prepared themselves for a siege. Monasteries were no doubt used as sanctuaries by fugitives from the law or from private revenge; but it can scarcely be supposed that the

<sup>1</sup> Genève, *Archives d'État*, Reg. Cons., 25, fol. 58 v. Jovis 19 Decembris 1532.

Augustinian monastery would have opened its doors to three hundred of the ordinary citizens of Geneva, in order to shield them from the results of an attack made by them upon the officers of the law. As pilgrims, however, the Gypsies could appeal successfully to the monks for shelter, and as pilgrims they could receive pardon 'propter Deum,' in spite of their having committed acts which would have rendered ordinary people subject to the most severe penalties. Aventinus, who wrote at this very time (the early part of the sixteenth century), complained indignantly that the pilgrim character borne by the Gypsies gave them a liberty possessed by no other class. 'Robbing and stealing are prohibited to others, under pain of hanging or beheading, but these people have licence for them.'

Later references to the presence of Gypsies, otherwise 'Saracens,' in Geneva are found in the state archives of Geneva:—

1613. 'Du Samedi 16<sup>e</sup> Janvier 1613 matin. Sarrasins. Mons<sup>r</sup> le premier syndique a rapporté qu'il fust hier adverty qu'il y avoit du costé de St. Gervaes des troupes de Sarasins qui faisoient beaucoup de mal par les villages et enpourroyent faire en la terre de Peney ou à Jantod: pour à quoi obvier il fust conseillé de les laisser passer en Savoye. Ce qu'il fist, et ordonna qu'ils passassent de la porte de Cornavin à la Porte Neufve et au Pont d'Arve souz la conduite de quelques soldats. Arresté que s'il s'en présente encore d'autres pour passer, comme l'on dict, le passage leur soit refusé.'<sup>1</sup>

1665. 'Du 5 Juin 1665, le Conseil complet. Ayant été rapporté qu'il y a des vagabonds, que l'on nomme Sarasins, qui estants venus dans les villages voisins en Savoye, courent la nuit dans les terres de la Souveraineté, pour y voler, ayants mêmes pris ces jours passés une pièce de toile chez un blanchisseur, et qu'il est expédient d'y pourvoir. Arrêté que, s'ils vont dans la Souveraineté, il soit permis aux subjects de les saisir et mettre en lieu de seurté, et en cas de résistance et violence, ils sonnent le toxin et tirent sus, et que l'on donne charge aux Châtelains de leur en faire commandement.'<sup>2</sup>

1665. 'Du 17 Juillet 1665. Ayant esté rapporté que les Sarasins qui sont dans le voisinage, ont menacé de venir piller et desrober tout ce qu'ils pourront aux Conseillers de céans, en leurs maisons de campagne, et à défaut d'y trouver quelque chose, d'y mettre le

<sup>1</sup> Genève, *Archives d'État*, Reg. Cons., 111, fol. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Reg. Cons., 165, fol. 76 v.

feu, à quoi il est nécessaire de pourvoir. Arrêsté que l'on donne ordre aux subjects de courir sur eux et leur faire main basse au cas qu'ils entreprennent d'entrer dans les terres de la Seigneurie pour y faire des vols et des larrecins.'<sup>1</sup>

For the extracts from the State Archives I have to thank M. Paul E. Martin, archiviste de l'État de Genève, who kindly rendered me every assistance.

## II.—AN EIGHTH BULGARIAN GYPSY FOLK-TALE

Recorded by BERNARD GILLIAT-SMITH

### *Introduction*

'I have been waiting two hours and a half, ever since twenty minutes to four' (*Katár o saxátî štar bi-biše-minutéjgoro žarár, dúi sáxatja t' epkáš*), said Paši Suljoff one day upon my returning home. And I was grateful to him, for the following tale, besides many other excellent points, contains this idea—often recurring in other *paramisja*—when you wish to travel, and you do not know which way to go, make a cake, one like Mrs. Herne's, if you like, but round enough to roll. Roll it, and follow the direction it takes. It will bring you every kind of adventure. Were I as independent as the Lálere Sinte, I would travel many thousand miles every year in this wise.

### I MĀŠTEΧO

1. *Uló kai uló jek xoruxái, ist-da les jek čhai. I čhai phenél : "Abé Bába, sóske na les jekhé romnjá, te prandénés, tha the thorel amén, tha the dikhél amén ? isxútiljam džuvénde."* "E, Sinko, te lav jekhé romnjá, ne-li kačalavél tut e mařesa agglál te mos ? Me pósle ne exmína-man." *Prandegghjás.*

2. *Jek diés, dúi diés, i romni phenél : "Te lésa the čhaiú patál, me túke kováv romni ; te na lésa, na maggáv tut." Kerghjás i romni jek bokolí, gelé kai gelé andé jekhé vešés o dad thai i čhai. Mukljás o dad pe čhaiú ándo veš, thoghjás jak tha thátjol. "Beš-tu, Sinko, me kadžáv, te kílav pánda kaštá." Xořarél pe čhaiú.*

### THE STEP-MOTHER

1. There was once a Turk and he had a daughter. The daughter says : 'Father, why do you not take a wife, and marry, that she may wash us, and look after us ? for we are eaten up with lice.' 'Heigh, Sinko, if I take a wife, will she not throw you your food in your face ? And then I shall not interfere.' He married.

2. One day, two days, the wife says : 'If you send away your daughter, I will be a wife to you ; if not, I don't want you.' The wife made a cake, and they went and they went, father and daughter, into a wood. The father left his daughter in the wood and made a fire, that she might be warm. 'Be seated here, Sinko, I will go and collect more fuel.' He is lying to his daughter.

<sup>1</sup> Genève, *Archives d'État*, Reg. Cons., 165, fol. 95 v.

3. *Bešti isí i raklí, dži ki jak, xal maró. Avél i méčka. Pířesa sa kerél kárig la. I čhai phenél: "Tsi tut otár, mándar, ma začá-tut mántsa, kai si man xolí. Mo dad geló kaštégge, nanái t'uló pánda."* Pále i méčka kárig i čhai pířesa. "Tsi tut otár!" i čhai phenél, "ma začá-tut mántsa, zerre kačhíváv jekhé umblalésa oprál túte tha katharáv tut." I méčka pále kárig láte pířesa. Dolél umblál i čhai, čhivél kárig i méčka, tutuštínel o balá, thai phářili sar akhór.

4. *Disilo. Avén o vurdondžides, the tovarinen kaštá. So te dikhén? E čhaiá! "Ėē, momičéntse, kakvó si spála? Ta si stánala žíva? Ot tája méčka tséalo sélo ne smée da dóide ot tája gorá."* "Ėnh! ne sinée? He ahé, de kosém ja palíl, ta púkna káto oréjx." *So te džan, te dikhén, tséalo gav liljás e rakljá, igáldel la ándo gav, ta sářore. Dasá dinén la nagráda, kai mudargh-jás e mečká.*

5. *Liljás-pes i čhai, gelí-peske. I řomní dikhljás la. "Ne-li liljánas palíl the čhaiá? Sóske alí?" "Ačhe-liljóm la palíl, ne inandínes-li? Dža, pluč tsaloné gavés, xoxaváv-li!"*

6. *Blevélilo. "Šun mánde," i řomní phenél, "tu the čhaiá dži kai na les palíl, te no ovél mamái man nísavi, me túke řomní n'ovár. A te lésa palíl, tu te zagubínes la, me túke řomní k'ovár.*

7. *Kerél jek bokoloři, tərkaljánel la máksus. Gelí kai gelí i bokolí, džinjás andé jekhé pustoné asjavés.*

3. The lass is seated near the fire, and is eating bread. There comes a bear. With his paw he continually clutches at her. The girl says, 'Begone hence, from me, do not take liberties with me, for I have a grief. My father has gone for fuel, and he has not yet returned.' Again the bear goes for her with his paw. 'Begone,' says the girl, 'do not take liberties with me, or I will throw a fire-brand over you and burn you.' Again the bear goes for her with his paw. The girl seizes a fire-brand, hurls it at the bear, sets light to the fur, and he burst like a nut.

4. Day broke. The carreteers come to load their carts with wood fuel. What do they see? The girl! 'Heigh, lassie, how did you sleep? And you have remained alive? The whole village does not dare to pass through the wood on account of the bear.' 'Ha! It doesn't dare? See here, I have burnt his fur, and he has burst like a nut.' They go and see, and the whole village took the girl and led her to the village, and all the Bulgarians made her a present because she killed the bear.

5. The girl betook herself and went. The wife [her step-mother] saw her. 'And so you have sent away your daughter? Why has she come?' 'I did send her away, don't you believe? Go, ask the whole village if I am lying!'

6. Evening came. 'Listen to me,' the wife said, 'as long as you do not send your daughter away so that no one comes before me, I will not be a wife to you. But if you send her away and lose her, I will be to you a wife.'

7. She makes a cake, and sets it rolling on purpose. The cake went and went and rolled into a deserted mill.



8. *Bešti si i čhai ándo asjár. Tamám bešelas thai šal mapó, avél láke i kačni, kárig láte, kárig láte; ói na xoratínel, i čhai; sa čhivél tróxes kárig i kačni. O čharrjá-da sa šan o tróxes. I kačni pále kárig i čhai, pále i čhai na xoratínel; sa čhivél láke tróxes. Nakló so nakló, našáldjili i kačni. Ake okotár íkljót láke jek bašný. Su kárig la, sa kárig la o bašný. Léske-da-ni sa ačoká čhivél tróxes, thai na xoratínel. Pála o bašný kárig la saldínel, pále ói sa ačoká čhivél léske tróxes te šal.*

9. *Dísilo. Lel pes adiká, íkljol anglál o asjár, bešti si. Nak-jén Dasá. "A, Móme, što díris túka, ta ne si ídeš?" Ísí jek rom e Daséntsa. "So ródes athé, te nána džas-tuke? Adarká asjár si pústó. Kíkljól túke čipota, ta kadaravél tut." "Ē, so te keráv?" Mi máštexo te na mangél man. Mo dud-da-ni líljás man tha anghjás man athé, tha áčhovav zúáni. Zer pósle me dudés na mangél mi máštexo. Kabešáv, káto nanái kai te džav; so te keráv?"*

10. *Blevélilo. Bešti si i rakli ándo asjár, ta šal mapó. Íkljol láke jek dervíš. Tharél pi tjútjün, o lulás. Íkljol mamái léste i čhai. Díkhél i čhai e dervíšés andé parné šexjén. Thargh-jús i tjútjün; sa kárig i čhai o dervíši zaxíl-pes lása. I čhai táinjel, na xoratínel. Pal'o dervíš kárig i čhai, sa ačoká, vastésa. e tjútjünjása, pířesa ritínel, čalavél e čhaiá; páli i čhai sa ačoká, sa táinjel ta na xoratínel.*

8. The girl is seated in the mill. Just as she was sitting down to eat bread, a hen comes to her, right up near to her, right up near to her; she, the girl, does not speak; she continually throws crumbs to the hen. And the chicks all eat the crumbs. The hen again approaches the girl, again she is silent; and all the time throws crumbs at it. There happened what happened and the hen disappeared. Behold there appears before her a cock. Nearer and nearer up to her comes the cock. And all in the same way she throws crumbs at him and does not speak to him. Again the cock strides up to her, again she in the same way throws crumbs for him to eat.

9. Day broke. She betakes herself and comes out in front of the mill and is seated. Bulgarians pass. 'Ha, lassie, what are you remaining here for and why do you not go?' Among the Bulgarians is a Gypsy. 'What are you looking for here, and why don't you go? This mill is deserted. Something will appear before you and frighten you.' 'Alas! What am I to do? My step-mother does not want me. My father took me and brought me here, and I remain miserable. For otherwise my step-mother will not have anything to do with my father. I will remain here since there is nowhere for me to go; what am I to do?'

10. Evening came. The girl is seated in the mill and is eating bread. A Dervish appears to her. He lights his tobacco, his pipe. The girl comes out. She sees him in his white clothes. He lit his pipe; and begins coming up to the girl and making free with her. The girl is silent and does not speak. Again the Dervish comes up to the girl, and in the same way touches her with his hand, with the pipe, with his foot; and again the girl just in the same way is silent and does not speak.

11. *Nakló so nakló, garávdilo. Ikljól láke jek kváčka. Sa kárig la, kárig i čhai, kvačinel (bašél). I čhai-da-ni sa čhivél láke tróxes, sa ačoká, sa ačoká, dží kai bašél o bašnó. Baštó-li o bašnó, batínel, naná ikljól ništo. Ói-da-ni télili, tha sovél. Suti suti; dísiło, nχtini.*

12. *Liljás-pes adiká ta kadžál pe dadéste. "Sóske sinjóm bešti athé thai ikljon mángge zvérorja, ta nána dža-mángge?" Geli pe' dadéste. So te díkhél la o dad liljás te rovél uprál la: "Kai alján, Sínko, tha našávdiljan?" I čhai phenél: "Ė, bába, jekhé romnjáke térki-kerés man. Sa kerghjánas tha th'čhijovav epkáš manúš. Thai ikistile mángge adulká zvérorja, dita dita mi čhib pékili an me móste!"*

13. *Díkhjás la i máštexo. "Ače lubníje, tu so ródes athé?" "So ródat? Áke aljóm p'inatjéske palé me dadéste." "Ha! ačokáli si, me inatjéske alján, te les te dadés, te díkhés les ándo jakhá?" O rom vakjerél: "Tu kerghján me čhaiđ zagubinjóm asál túke. Istérse ot séga an te daíate čhív tut!"*

14. *Lel pe čhaiđ, o rom, mukjél la, e romnjá. Gelé kai gelé, pe čhaiđasa, dží jekhé kherés. So te díkhén. Ándo kher pherdó šéχja thai sékukvo. "Han, Sínko, akaná peljám amaré baχtáte." "Sa godjása akaná, Bába; ta te ávla odiká lubní, tu te na pribirínes la." Nakló so nakló. Hékje okotár i romni alí. Liljás te phučél e rakljá: "Kai geló to dad?" "Mo dad isi athé. So kakerés lésa?"*

11. There happened what happened and he disappeared. A cackling hen appears before her. Near and nearer it cackles up to her, to the girl. And she always throws it crumbs and thus and thus until the cock crows. And when the cock crew the hen disappears and nothing more appears before her. And she lies down and sleeps. She slept, she slept; day broke, she arose.

12. She betook herself and will go to her father. 'Why am I seated here and wild beasts appear to me and I don't go away?' She went to her father. When the father saw her he began to cry over her: 'Where have you been, Sinko, and you have been lost.' The girl says: 'Ah, father, you cast me out for the sake of a woman. And you have caused me to remain as it were only half a human being. And those wild beasts appeared before me, and see, see, my tongue dried up in my mouth!'

13. The step-mother saw her. 'Ha, you harlot, what are you looking for here?' 'What am I looking for? See, I have come in spite of you back to my father.' 'Indeed, is it thus, you have come back in spite of me, to take your father and look him in the eyes?' The husband says: 'You caused me to lose my daughter for your sake. For all I care get you hence now to your mother!'

14. The husband takes his daughter and leaves the wife. They went and they went, father and daughter, till they came to a house. What do they see? The house, inside, is full of clothes, and everything. 'Ha, Sinko, now we have fallen upon our luck!' 'Now be sensible this time, father; and should that harlot come, do not take her back.' There happened what happened. Behold the wife came. She began to question the girl: 'Where has your father gone?' 'My father is

*Džal i rakli, vikinel pe dadés; avél o dad.* "So ródes athé-čé, lubníje? Me čhaiá manglján te zagubínáv, ta túsa, rom thai romní ta t'ováv." Del andré o rom. "Džar, Sinko, te lav o kílíči, te čhináv la!" I rakli phenél: "Džar, Bába, kai ói mántsa but kerghjás thai khelghjás. Ta me te lav o kílíči, tha the čhináv la, te nakjél mi xoli." *Lel o kílíči i rakli.* "Ēē, tu mántsa džanés-li so kerghján? Tu man dži akaná te mudarkjarés, amú isi man diesá t'ováv dživdi!" *Tsídel o kílíči, lel lákeri men.*

## ORADÁ MASÁL, BURADÁ SALÍK.

here. What will you do with him?' The girl goes, calls her father; the father comes. 'What are you looking for here, you harlot? You wanted me to cast away my daughter, and that you and I should be wife and husband.' The husband enters the house. 'Wait, Sinko, that I get the knife to kill her!' The girl says: 'Wait, father, for she has wronged and scorned me much. And let me take the knife to slay her that my anger may pass.' The lass takes the knife. 'Ha! Do you know what you have done to me? You have attempted to slay me up till now, but fate has granted me days yet to live!' She draws the knife and cuts her throat.

O. M. B. S.

## NOTES TO THE TEXT

§ 1. *uló kai uló* . . . from *uváca*: cf. *siné kai siné* 'there was once upon a time.'

§ 1. *ne-li kačalavél tut e mařésa ayglál te mos* . . . lit. 'will she not strike you with the bread before your face?'

§ 2. *lěsa palíl* . . . according to the context here and further on, this expression means 'to get rid of,' not 'to take back.' In Paspati it means 'to pursue.'

§ 2. *tha thátjol* . . . the *th* was unmistakable. Miklosich notes it in *thúljorav* and once in *thátjol*, buk. (Mik. viii.), without being able to account for it; cf. also my *tharél* in the *Čordilendžis*, and below in § 3.

§ 2. *xoxavél pe čhaiá* . . . 'to deceive,' 'to lie to.'

§ 3. *tsi tut olir* . . . 'Get you hence,' imper. of *tsidar*.

§ 3. *ma xaxá-tut mántsa* . . . sometimes followed by *mándi*, 'to take liberties with,' 'to be over free with,' on the analogy of the Bulg. *zaxá-zdam*. Cf. the expression *xaxaljás-pes lúsa* 'he was over-intimate with her.'

§ 3. *thai phářili sar akhór* . . . Paspati *pářjorava* for *phúřjorava* 'to burst.'

§ 4. *Ēē, momičéutse*, etc. . . . I must warn students of Bulgarian that quotations in this language are in the vulgar Sofia dialect and romanified.

§ 4. *de kosǵm ja palíl* . . . for *palila*.

§ 4. *igáldel la ándo gar* . . . generally *igárl* or *igárlél*.

§ 4. *dínén lu* . . . perhaps for *diné lu*. But I have not found the form elsewhere in this dialect.

§ 4. *e mečká* . . . accus. of *méčka*. They know the word *řáča*, but seldom use it.

§ 5. *tsaloné garés* . . . nominative = *tsálo* = Bulg. *tsálo*. Cf. the oblique form of *dúu* = *doné*, and § 7, *pustóné*.

§ 7. *těrkáljanel la* . . . Bulg. *těrkáljam* 'I roll.' The Romani preservation of the *-ja-* is exceptional.

§ 7. *máksus* . . . generally *maksú*, Turk.-Arabic.

§ 7. *andé jekhé pustóné asjárés* . . . *asjáré* is the classical word for a mill, Hindu, *āsijā* (Mik. viii.).

§ 8. *sa chivél tróxes* . . . Bulgarian *tróxa* 'a crumb,' plur. *tróxi*. But the Gypsies use a Greek plural for loan words the singular of which ends in *a*.

§ 8. *o chavrdj-da sa xan o tróxes* . . . see Mik. viii. 30, and note that the word is *chavrd*, not *čavrd*. It is regrettable that Paspatis should have omitted to distinguish between these two sounds *č* and *ch*, and thus have led all subsequent writers into error.

§ 8. *našaldjili i kaχni* . . . pass. of *našaldv* for *našardv* 'to cause to run away,' 'to lose,' hence the meaning here is 'to be lost,' 'to disappear.'

§ 8. *saldinel* . . . Turkish *salmak*, with the usual addition of *d* to the stem.

§ 9. *kadaravél tut* . . . 'will frighten you,' causative of *dardv* 'I fear.'

§ 10. *ritinel* . . . Bulg. *ritam*.

§ 11. *nakló so nakló, garavrdilo* . . . pass. of *garavdv*, 'I conceal,' hence 'disappeared.' Cf. *našaldjili*. Above, the 'Hiatus aufhebender *v*' becomes *l*, as also in *bašaliv*. This is never the case in *garavdv*.

§ 11. *batinel* . . . Turkish *batmak* 'to disappear,' 'set (of the sun, etc.).'

§ 11. *ai-da-ni télili, tha sorél* . . . The double particle *da-ni* corresponds exactly to the German postponed *aber* in narration—'Sie aber legte sich nieder und schlief.'

§ 11. *Sutí, sutí* . . . It is only in corrupt dialects that are found forms like *sordó*; *sutó* is the classical form (Sanskrit partic. *supta*). Thus *runó* 'he cried,' from *roráv*.

§ 12. *zrérorja* . . . *zrer* is Bulgarian for a wild beast, plur. *zvérove*, to which plural is tacked on the Romani plural in *-ja*.

§ 12. *terki-kerés man* . . . Instead of forming a verb, they have translated literally from the Turkish *terk etmek*. The final *i* is nearly always felt to be necessary by a true Rom; cf. above § 10, *dervíši*, elsewhere *dervíš*.

§ 12. *díta, díta* . . . for *dikh-ta*. Cf. Anglo-Romani *díta, bá!*

§ 13. *inatjéske* . . . 'out of spite,' from Turk. *inád*. Cf. Welsh Rom. *spaitáke*.

§ 14. *sa godjisa akaná, Bába* . . . lit. 'with all intelligence now, father,' i.e. 'be sensible this time.'

§ 14. *te na pribirínes la* . . . from Bulg. *pribíram*.

§ 14. *kai ai méntsa but kergñjds thai khelghjds* . . . a rough form of alliteration (see translation).

§ 14. *te mudarkjarés* . . . causat. 'to cause to be slain.'

§ 14. *lel líkeri men* . . . It means either 'to kill' or 'to cut the head off': lit. 'takes her neck.'

### III.—THE GYPSIES OF CENTRAL RUSSIA<sup>1</sup>

By DEVEY FEARON DE L'HOSTE RANKING

(Continued from Volume IV. page 258)

#### MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

IN the section dealing with the mode of life of the Gypsies Dobrowolski is in a sense disappointing. I have already pointed out that, from my own point of view, I think the author

<sup>1</sup> I have to thank cordially the Rev. F. G. Ackerley for his kindness in preparing this part of my paper for press.

has made a mistake in confining himself too much to the linguistic side of his subject, and that he has failed to attach sufficient importance to the question of traditions and customs. So also I find that he does not furnish us with any connected account of Gypsy customs, ceremonies, superstitions, and habits, such as we find in Wliskoeki, but contents himself with giving isolated examples of events, and leaves us to draw our own conclusions from the casual hints met with in the conversations and stories.

It is clear that the settled Gypsies, with whom Dobrowolski was chiefly brought into contact, must differ considerably from wandering bands such as the one which recently visited this country. It is only in quite recent times<sup>1</sup> that the Russian Gypsies have become house-dwellers; formerly the Gypsies of each district camped out in the fields, forests, and moors during the summer, and in the winter lived in barns. But now, as I understand, all Gypsies who habitually reside in a particular district are forced to live in houses; though apparently there are still bands of wandering Gypsies who live in tents, and seem to be spoken of as 'Moldavian' Gypsies.<sup>2</sup>

### HORSE-FAKING

The house-dwellers do not seem to exercise any particular trade or handicraft; I have not so far met with any reference to smith-work, nor to basket- or sieve-making, nor with any words connected with these occupations: they are evidently musicians, because reference is made to the Gypsies who used to come and play at the house of Dobrowolski's grandfather; but apart from this the men seem to devote all their energies to horse-dealing (including horse-stealing), sheep-stealing, and *čoring* generally: while *manging*, *dukking*, and the *lokano baro* are the special province of the women. Even as regards horse-dealing and faking Dobrowolski does not give us much information: there is one example of a Gypsy talking to his horse, which I reproduce: <sup>3</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> See Pott, i. p. viii, second footnote, where it is stated that between 1839 and 1844 no less than eight thousand Russian Gypsies became sedentary.

<sup>2</sup> Are these the same as the Gypsy coppersmiths who visited England in 1911-12? These people have wandered over the greater part of European Russia. I met some of the same type in Libau, Kurland, in 1904 or the preceding year. They speak a form of the Rumanian Romani dialect, and Moldavia is that part of Rumania that borders on Russian territory.—F. G. A.

<sup>3</sup> It has been thought well not to attempt to indicate the Russian loan-words and pre-verbal particles in this article by any change of type, that device having been found rather irritating to the reader. Verbs are frequently compounded with

*Prásto, miró grásto !*

*Dur te prastás, dalyóka byešě, a byagí !*

*Ser avása po štétu kxeré, to me dáva túke jororí, dáva túka kxasoró i panorí.*

*Sí mánde dyéro—trébi te duxtál.*

*Naréla túke ni parubé ni biknebé—zakopináva tut adó pórtř, prikopináva tre kukáři, ráva tut pomínát, so lačó grástoro sínas.*

*I ni nažít mánge dasarés grés.*

*Sáro tu sínas grastoró i unasíl tu miró šuroró.*

*I kormindyóm te myešankisása, pol udová, so tú unasíl miró šeró.*

*Né, já !*

*Ma xán tu o rurá !*

*Šágo, tíxinkes, terdyóš !*

*Já zoralés. Ná ža zoralés.*

(Hurry on, my little horse !

There is far to go, far to go, but hurry on !

When once we get home, then will I give you dear little oats, I will give you dear little hay and a drop of water.

I have business to do—we must gallop.

You shall not be swapped or sold—I will shut you up within gates, I will bind up your legs, I will remember of you that you were a good horse.

I never had such a horse.

Such a horse you were that you bore off my head.

And after that I fed you a dear little bran-mash, when you carried off my head !

Now, on !

May the wolves devour you !

Slowly, gently, stop !

Go strongly. A gentle trot.)

To this I add the following monologue about a wager, since, presumably, the race was to be on horseback, and the incident illustrates the Gypsy's pride in his steed.

Russian prepositions, for which compare *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iv. 236. (I was wrong in deriving *Chačkir* from Russian : it is, of course, pure Romani for "burn").

Russian words occur sometimes in their proper form, but more often with a Romani ending. A few instances will suffice:—*Bočka*, cask. *Bok*, side, flank. *Čemer*, "falling-sickness of horses" (Alexandrow's Dictionary). *Čisto*, clean. *Dalyoka*, far. *Davai*, give ! come now ! *Dyero*, business. *Magú*, I can. *Nibut*, any. *Pomínat*, to remember. *Nicás*, at once. *Tolko*, only. *Užé*, already. *U nas*, (there are) to us, we have. *Yamkiza*, a little hole. *Yeželi*, if. *Zdoror*, health.—F. G. A.

*Davá-ka túsa povígínki: kon konés obuxtélu; kon konés obtradéla.*

*Kulí tu mán obtradésa, mánder gárzo bravínto.*

*Obtradésa—mánder sastó!*

*Man tut obtradára, to i túlír sastó.*

(Let's you and I have a bet: who can outstrip the other; who can beat the other.

If you beat me, a pot of brandy from me.

If you win—a rouble from me.

But if I beat you, then a rouble from you.)

There is a rather amusing account of a swap between a Gypsy and a farmer, where each is trying to best the other. The asides between the Gypsy and his boy are instructive. The Gypsy begins:—

'Don't you believe everything you hear.'

'I trust you,' says the farmer.

'If you trust me, that's all right.'

The Gypsy's son says:—

*"Dádo, e gréske dandá kerle 'sí, Ma rákχ te ná galyól kón nibut, poparása 'do 'da χuxayibé! A gažó lažó."*

('Father, the horse's teeth are faked. God grant no one notices it, we shall get done over this swindle! But the gorgio is a good 'un.')

The father answers:—

*"Na χuxaí našť! So Dível děla, odará yaréla, a užé paruváva! Adyáke ténára les e gažés, óke dík bust dára 'de léste adé gažéste, ažnó o rilyá léstír žánu!"*

('No! Being done is an impossibility! As God gives, so it will happen, but I am just making the swap! But I'll so clip this gorgio's wings, just see how I'll stick it into this gorgio,<sup>1</sup> so that the wind will fly from him!')

Finally, the swap is made; and from the exaggerated dissatisfaction of the Gypsy one is led to suspect that the gorgio has been badly done in the eye.

This is all the more probable as Dobrowolski shows, by describing the method by which a Gypsy fakes a horse's teeth, that they are up to all the tricks of horse-dentistry:—

<sup>1</sup> I am not quite certain as to the translation of *bust dára 'de léste adé gažéste*, but I think it is tolerably near. Dobrowolski translates it *spíčku dím* 'I will give a match (=a pointed piece of stick).' In Paspatis and in the Hungarian Gypsy dialect I find *bust* = 'a lance,' 'sharp point.' *Bust dára* may be compared with such expressions as Rum. Gy. *duma daň*, 'I speak'; Boh. Gy. *karie dar*, 'I shoot,' etc.

‘Horses are worn out. They take a cobbler’s awl and dig out fairly deep holes in the teeth. They shape pegs of birchwood and drive them into the holes they have dug out—the holes become black, just as if they were natural marks. Then they undercut the canines which are worn away, and file them so that they are sharp: an old horse is made young, and passes for rising seven or eight.’

Their expertness as horse-physicians is also illustrated by the examples he gives of common Gypsy recipes for sick horses. For instance:—

*Magú grés te veličináů kuparóso i yaré. Umyěstí adavá rosólo yarmítko: yežéli perésa nasraló, to adá sastálo te dės; a yežéli lungóla pe gerói, to trébi e kuparóso ke gerói.*

(I can doctor a horse with copperas and eggs. The eggs are added to cabbage juice: if the horse has the gripes, this mixture is given to him; but if he is lame, then you must bandage him with copperas.)

Besides this the Gypsies, in certain cases, go to a white-witch, or even to a gorgio:—

*E gréste mıréste čemer.*

My horse has the staggers.

*Gažó kodará žiněl.*

That gorgio knows about it.

*Ján ko gažó: joů děla paní.*

Go to the gorgio: he will give water.

#### HOKANO BARO

In a previous instalment of this paper instances were given of the *manging* propensities of the Gypsy women: here are two instances of their mode of preying on the superstitions of the peasants.

##### (a) *Something is groaning in the house*

The Gypsy-Moldavians are on a tramping expedition. They must find where some rich peasant lives. Then they must use a cunning trick. They get some quicksilver: this they put into a goosequill, and beg the peasant to let them in for the night. The Gypsy woman also takes with her some clay. At night when every one is asleep she climbs up upon the stove, makes a hole somewhere upon the stove,—scrapes it out, that is. Then she takes the feather with the quicksilver, puts it in the hole, and cements it in with the clay. The next day, when the housewife makes a fire in the stove, the Gypsy woman goes on her way.



As soon as the stove gets hot, something begins to sigh and groan in a muffled way as if it were a human being: 'Oh! oh! oh!' so sensitive is the quicksilver. The peasants do not know what this may be, and look for the house-spirit (brownie) that he may drive this devil out of the house and yard. They look under the table, behind the stove, and on the stove. Some one is groaning, but they can't find who it is. It is groaning worst at the stove: they must drive the devil out. Prayers have been said; they have propitiated the house-spirit; but something is still groaning; no power whatever can drive this devil out!

After some time other Gypsies arrive, but this Gypsy woman does not resemble the one that had been staying for the night in the house. 'Let me tell your fortune,' she says to the peasant and his wife; 'there is a devil in your house.' The peasant says, 'Can you drive it out?' 'Yes, I can, but it will cost you very dear.' The peasant says: 'Take anything you like, dear little Gypsy woman, but drive this devil out of the house!' 'Well,' she says, 'if I don't drive the devil out, you can blame me!'

Then she bids them all kneel, and begins to read out of a little book. By this time it is very warm in the house, the stove is well heated, and the groaning is at its loudest (this stuff loves the heat). The peasants are all kneeling, and the Gypsy woman says: 'Do you hear how it is groaning?' The peasant, weeping with fright, says: 'I can hear it all!' 'Do you hark how it is moaning? It will moan all of you out of this house, which will become a desert! Pray to the Lord! But now don't fear, don't fear. Do you know why it is moaning now? It is because I have begun to push him out! Now all of you lie flat down on your faces on the ground!'

While they are lying on the ground the Gypsy goes into the entrance hall, and with a false key unlocks the door of the pantry, and makes her way to the money-chest. She unlocks the chest and takes out all the money. The Gypsy woman gets on the stove, saying: 'I am going to make the sign of the cross on it.' There with a small knife she digs out the clay which covers the hole she had made, and takes out the quill with the quicksilver. The moaning and groaning ceased at once.

The Gypsy woman climbs down from the stove and says to the peasants: 'Now stand up and pray to the Lord. You must know that all idols, devils, and evil spirits of all kinds are subject to my book. My book is a magic one. Pray you to the Lord

for my sake: the evil ones would have moaned you out of the house, you and all your family would have perished. But in case you think I am deceiving you, I'll stay the night with you for safety's sake.' The Gypsy woman remained for the night. During the night nothing happened; no moaning was heard. The Gypsy woman says: 'Well, this is because I did it for you conscientiously; now you must do something for me, and do not you wrong me in paying me.'

The Gypsy woman did not take much: they gave her as reward a round loaf of bread, a ham, and a piece of fat, with about a pound of salt and a peck of grits; this was all her reward. The Gypsy woman thanked them for the gifts, guaranteed that all would now be quiet, and went her way to an appointed spot where the other Gypsies awaited her.

The peasant, glad that the moaning was at an end and that quietness reigned, went to the chest to get some money to buy wine and hold a feast. He found the chest locked, but no money in it. He asked his wife: 'Where is our money? The coffer is locked, but the money is gone! That cursed devil which was groaning has taken it. Well, much good may it do him! At any rate I am at peace now, and my household are safe!'

(b) *A sacrifice to the restless god at the cross-ways.*

A Gypsy woman comes to a peasant's house. 'Give me alms in the name of Christ,' she says to the housewife.

The peasant woman says: 'Oh, there are many of your sort; we are tired of you, you have tired out our patience!'

'Lady,' says the Gypsy woman, 'I will tell your fortune.'

'Well, how are you going to tell my fortune?'

'Show me your hand!'

The Gypsy woman, looking at the peasant woman's hand, says: 'Something is wrong in your household; some mishap is going to fall upon you. There is some quarrel coming between you and your husband, and you have many enemies; they envy you because you live so well.'

The peasant woman sees that the Gypsy speaks truthfully; there has been some little quarrel between her husband and herself. The Gypsy gave the peasant woman some roots, saying they were roots of valerian.

'Grind this root fine and put it into his broth; then your

husband will love and cherish you. Now won't you give me a trifle ?'

The peasant gave her an alms; the Gypsy woman said she would come again, and if any evil thing came she would drive it out. In the night a Gypsy man came near to the peasant's cottage; he cut off the head of a hen, and smeared the gate with the blood. Then he got into the yard, and buried the head in a marked spot near the cattle-shed. The next morning when the peasant got up and went out he noticed the blood-stains on the gates. He called his wife out and showed it to her; then he said:—

'Look here! What is this? It is blood, and human blood.'

Said the wife: 'Well, did I not tell you what the Gypsy woman said, that some misfortune is hanging over us; that evil people will not allow us to live in peace?'

The peasant said: 'But what is to be done?'

She replied: 'It is as if the Lord sent that Gypsy woman! We must give her whatever she requires, but we must beg her to practise her witchcraft.'

At that very moment came another Gypsy woman to the house; probably she was sent to them secretly. 'Give me a trifle,' begged she. The peasant woman gave her an alms. 'There is something uncanny about your alms!' 'Well, what is wrong with it?' 'There is some blast upon your house; all your cattle will die!' The wife ran and told her husband. The peasant came and begged the Gypsy woman to undo the spell. 'Make it so that nothing evil shall be in my house, and no blood on my gates.'

And the Gypsy woman said: 'This has been done to you by stealth, that all your cattle may perish. If you like, I can show you the very imp itself.'

The peasant would have liked to see the fiend, but his wife standing by began to cry, and said: 'No, dear Vasili, not on any account would I like to see the devil; if I saw him I should die straight off!'

The Gypsy woman consented to use her sorcery. First of all she ordered the peasant and his wife to kneel; then she began to read out of a book. Having finished her reading, she ordered them to stand up. Then she bade the woman fetch a jug of water and a tumbler. She bade them again kneel, turned her back to them, and said: 'Pray to the Lord!' The Gypsy woman

poured some water into the tumbler, and secretly broke a hen's egg, the white of which she poured into the water. Then she put in a bundle of hairs, and to the hairs there was attached a contrivance of this sort:—There was a small head made of wax (which looked like a real sparrow's head), with black points at each side which looked just like eyes. The hairs were carefully twisted together so that they would not come loose and the head fall off. When she had put this contrivance into the tumbler, she ordered the peasants to stand up. 'Just look,' she said, 'what a funny thing there is in the tumbler! Just see! I have caught the cursed viper! Come and look at him.' She put the tumbler on the window sill, and covered it with the palm of her hand. They stared at the thing in terror: the head was spinning round as if it were a viper. The Gypsy woman, pointing to the head, said: 'Now you know who the evil-doer was; it was this viper which flies through the air, and takes the milk from your cows!' The peasant and his wife, seeing the horrible thing, bade her hide away the devil. 'Hide it away, pray! lest we perish through this fiend!'

The Gypsy woman said: 'We can't hide it here; I will take it with me into the forest, and you must give me whatever I ask. I do not want anything of yours for myself. You will see; everything will be all right, and there will be quiet in your house. I shall take no reward whatever, but whatever I tell you to put down in the forest you must give. As to my reward, none at all will be required now.' Then the Gypsy woman said: 'Bring the table-cover which you use when a thanksgiving service is said and the icons are carried round.' The peasant brings the very best table-cloth. 'Now,' she says, 'fetch an uncut loaf of bread; I will put it on the cloth. It is not for me; I don't want it.' The peasant fetches a fresh loaf. 'Now bring a beef ham, and if you have a pot of butter bring one,—a full one which has not been opened yet. Then fetch a roll of linen; you know that I don't need this for myself.' 'You know,' she says to the peasant woman, 'where the cross-roads are in your forest. Spread it out across the roads in the form of a cross.' And the peasant says: 'Oh yes! The cross-roads in the forest are not far from here.'

So the Gypsy woman says: 'All this will have to be spread out there at the cross-ways. It will all be there; I will put it all down. The ham will be there, and the butter, and the bread,

and the cloth; I don't want any of it. If you like to go there to-morrow very early in the morning, and if you don't find it there, that will mean that the devil has eaten it all. If he eats it all, he will give up troubling you for ever; if he does not eat it all, he will have to be solicited again.'

The peasant thanked the Gypsy woman; then she said to him: 'Come with me and I will show you something.' She took him out to the place where the Gypsy had hidden the hen's head in the cow-dung. She took out the head and showed it to the peasant and his wife. 'Just see what there is in your byre! Your heads, and the heads of your cows, pigs, and sheep would have been cut off as this head is cut off. Do you recognise the head?' 'God knows what head this is,' said the peasant; 'I see it has eyes and a nose.' 'Now,' said the Gypsy woman, 'we must throw this head into the fire; I will throw it into the fire lest it should suck the milk from your cows. It is through this head that your cows did not give sufficient milk.' The peasant woman said to her husband: 'Did I not tell you that our brown cow was bellowing, and gave very little milk? and that her eyes were starting out of her head? I told you many a time that we were overlooked and bewitched. The milk is not like other people's: it is all skim; the top has been drunk away, and we do not know who has done it!' And the peasant says: 'Yes indeed, I have noticed it when feeding the cows; they look as if they were asleep. We ought to be very thankful to this Gypsy woman.' The Gypsy woman then said: 'Yes, this is the very head that would not let you live in peace. You saw that I got this head into the tumbler; it was alive then, and had a tail, and spun round. Well, now it has been cut off, and it is lying in the cow-dung!' The peasant said: 'We will give you whatever reward you like for it.' 'Oh!' said the Gypsy woman, 'I was not doing it for gain! But I will come for your reward some other time.'

The next morning the peasant went to the spot in the forest where the things were put down, to see if the devil had eaten them all. He found nothing, not even the table-cloth! He scratched his head, saying: 'Well, whether the Gypsy woman has taken the things or the devil has eaten them, they are gone sure enough!'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The peasants of Southern Russia believe firmly in the existence of a devil, in the shape of a flying dragon with the head of a cock (the cockatrice), which sucks the milk from cows. Cf. Pott, i. page viii, first footnote. One is very much inclined to connect the little wax head and its hairs with the *mehelo* of Wislocki (*Aus dem inneren Leben der Zigeuner*, pp. 4-7).

## GYPSY STORIES

Dobrowolski divides his work into three parts: *Skazki*, or Tales; Scenes from Gypsy Life; and Songs, with the airs to which one or two of them are sung.

Some of the stories would have delighted Groome, as affording further variants of some of those which he has given in his *Gypsy Folk-Tales*: No. 1, for instance, is a version of 'The Brave Tailor'; while No. 3, 'The Fool who said the Wrong Thing,' is a version of a story which was current among schoolboys in this country when I was a boy. One of these stories, that of 'The Devil who married a Gypsy Girl,' I have given in an earlier number of this journal: there are two other Münchhausen stories which I propose to give now, as they strike me as being peculiarly Gypsy in their nature.

*An Unexpected Find*

*Gijá me čavénža desté te pxagás. Katír na liyape o rič. Me mŕjám strixátír. Adé čavoré rasprastandŕné straxátír, a me yatyómpe kižinó—o dilané o čavé našné. Né, me te blendŕnáá yatyóm. I zagiyóm maškíró o rěš. Priuxťildyá man rát. Žipánizo pėskiřo potěidyóm toló bóki i pasiyóm. A pe zórya len o bašné te bayén. Potšunáva odorik. Me žáva ko savó-nibut gáv. Tólki pe zóřiža ustyóm, jála kerdŕnitko, i rakířla: "Kárik tu zagiján?" A me rakířáva: "Zublendŕndyóm! Vlíži man ke savó-nibut gáv." "Nu, yarénti manža!"*

*Ližijá ioŕ man pėsa i yandyá man ko dėmbo; odó dėmbo bi-makuškúkiřo; poló makuško bešlŕ kunižá. I rakířla adó biřóděiko: "Ja, rěš mánge e kunižá: a tó me tut kukurės karyé dířa i zamaráva, kulŕ tu mánge kunižá na resása." Me nané, so te keráá! Duvái po 'du dėmbo te jáá e kunižá te resáá. Zagiyóm pe sámo makúško,—čŕndyá karadŕnyása e kunižá, domardyá. Per mánde rakířla: "Lé kunižá edré dúplya!"—"Me ŕi resáva ŕi-sŕ."—"Rěš, a tó maráva." Me zmekióm dre dúplya i peiosí adorík i na vižáva ŕi-sŕ. A ioŕ dumŕndyá, kai man o rič isřijá.*

*A me šepináva teló goró 'de dúplya—odói yagvin. Me ŕi-sŕ odótŕ na rižáva. Né, bešló dířės, bešló i vavír. Me šanáva: skrabínape. Dířúra: o rič ke me o širó bankirdyá dre dúplya. Me nané só te keráá! Ořťildyóm les paló kaná—i o straxátŕ delpé palé širėso—i man, čavės ternės, vŕtradŕyá—i mo*

*rikirdyómpe paló kráiyé. A o riě sočinélpe dre pxá tš omordyápe.*

*I kunizá vičurdíyóm. Stálo bít, mánde kakaná dui štúki esí. Me sičús poduxťildíyómpe xeré te našáŭ! "Dádo, dé e grén andré! Avén-ka! Ja! Dřx, só me omardíyóm-te." Dřyá grén andré. Avyám k' adá démbo, i kunizá e ričés zakedíyám. Sláva túka ta, Devla! Sláva, kai mán, o Divél, rařiyá. I tšrařá kunizátř kindíyóm i poddėŭka řidyóm.*

I went with children to cut whip-stocks. A bear appeared from some place that you would never expect. I nearly died with fear. These children ran away in fear, and I was left alone—these idiotic children were gone. Well, I was left to wander. I went into the middle of the wood. The night surprised me. I put my thick coat under my ribs, and I lay down. At dawn the cocks will begin to crow. I shall hear them then. I shall go to some village or other. I did not succeed in stirring at dawn, a forest ranger came along, and said: 'Where are you going?' And I said: 'I have lost my way! Show me the way to some village.'—'Well, let us go along with me!'

He took me along with him and led me to an oak tree: that oak tree was without a head; under the head a marten was sitting. And that keeper said: 'Go, get me that marten: else I will shoot at yourself and kill you, if you do not get me that marten.' There was nothing I could do! I set to work to climb the oak to catch the marten. I climbed to the very top,—he shot with his gun at the marten, he killed it. He says to me: 'Take the marten into the hollow of the tree!—'I won't take it anywhere.'—'Take it, or I will kill.' I let myself down into the hole, and falling in there I can get out nowhere. But he thought that the bear had eaten me.

But I groped away under my feet in the hole—there was honey. I can't get out of that anywhere. Well, I sat a day, and I sat another. I heard: there was a scrabbling. I looked: the bear was bending his head down to me in the hole. There was nothing I could do! I caught hold of him behind the ears—and he from fright moved backwards with his head, and dragged me, poor little fellow, out—and I caught hold of the edge (of the hole). But the bear fell to the ground and was killed.

I pulled out the marten too. Consequently I had now two pieces of game. I straightway made off to go home: 'Father, put the horses to! Come along! Get on! See what I have killed.' He put the horses to. We came to that oak, and picked up the marten and the bear. Glory to Thee, O God! Glory that Thou, O Lord, hast saved me. I bought shoes with the price of the marten, and I sewed for myself a gabardine.

#### *A bit of luck saves a Gypsy*

*Protradřyá man o dát křeréster ařří,—i nané mányř, karík te karápe. I pxutyóm me gažénřř xér lařó, odó řaržó loré pařł. Řiyóm, adá loré zakedíyóm i kerdíyómpe—ěřto běny—adó řaržó; i řiyóm našáŭ lorénřa píro dróm.*

*I po dróm strenindíyómpe odó gažénřa řulánřa, koněřřř o loré zakedíyóm. I o gažé rakírna: "Só tu adá řaržó okřrdíyómpe?" A yeř rakírła gažó: "Kái mřré o loré adó řaržó pařł—tak iŭŭ*

*zakedilyá len. Darú-ka to ŭxtilás les! Davú t'uxsilás, te dre bóčka te čurás, te dro kústí te čurdás: pokúlya o loré dodixásape! Kóli 's'í žélí o loré, ták i mekúsa; a káli nané loré, to zamarása!"*

*Mán te 's'is čurorí, me davú e bóčkiža te pročináŭ yámkiža te dixináŭ. Katír aryá rá—davú pašil bočka te sungél. Mé 'da dírkiža rastoró pročulyóm i ruvés palé porí oxtilulyóm. I 'da rá mekyápe te prastál píró kórěi, i bočkása; i 'da bóčka sári rospchagiyá; i mé, ternó čaró, unastyóm, i loré xeré yandyóm, i romnyása zapilyóm: "Bák, romní, gilí: kakanú aménde bít loré, kakanú pojírása túsa! Ná gorine tu kakaná!"*

My father drove me from home,—and I had not where to take refuge. And I found out the rich house of a farmer, his money was lying hid in the meal. I went, I pinched that money, and I smeared myself—a regular devil—with the meal; and I bolted down the road with the money.

And on the road I came across the gorgio whose money I had pinched, with some friends. And the gorgios said: 'How come you so smeared with meal?' And one gorgio said: 'My money was in the meal—that fellow has pinched it. Let's collar him! Let's take him and put him in a barrel, and throw him into the bushes till we see the money! If all the money is there, we will let him go; but if there is no money, we will kill him!'

But I, poor fellow, set to work and cut a hole in the barrel to look out at. A wolf came from somewhere or other, and began to sniff about the barrel. I shoved my hand out of the hole, and caught the wolf by the tail. The wolf set off running through the tree stumps, and the barrel with him; and the barrel was all broken to bits; and I, poor boy, got out, and took the money home, and drank it all with my wife: 'Sing a song, wife: now we have lots of money, now we shall both prosper! You are not unlucky now!'

Another story seems more properly to come under the head of Gypsy Life, and shows the short shrift with which Gypsies sometimes meet at the hands of peasants.

#### *Jeddart Justice*

*Sír giyá o dát e carésa e grén te čorén, i podginé ko našléga, i okružili len o gažé, i oxtilde e čavés. Aŭ dát dikhéla palé kustóstir, so čaréske léna te kerén. Ek gažó pxeněla: "Daváite: o gukchá te rípásřvas!" A vacír rakírta: "Davái, edé pxú te zakopinás les jidonés!" Trító rakírta: "Davái, jedír oblavása!" Líné ti i obladé.*

*Né, visíne; o dát dikhýá te díyá te rovél, i giyá kxeré. I kurkó zmikyá, e díyá andré; i gavyá 'darík ke ióŭ, i zlíyá telé e petlyátir, e čudýá 'de rurdó, i yandyá kxeré. I o romní i o čaré zarundlé, i garulé les adré pxú.*

A father went with his son to steal horses, and they came to a night resting-place, the peasants surrounded them, and caught the son. And the father watched



from behind a bush what they would do to his son. One gorgio said: 'Come on: let's knock his eyes out!' Another said: 'Come on: let's bury him alive in the ground!' The third said: 'Come on: it's better to string him up!' They took him and hanged him.

Well, there he was hanging; his father seeing it burst out crying, and went home. And a week after he yoked his horses and drove there to him, and took him down from the noose, and put him on the cart, and took him home. And his wife and the children wept, and buried him in the ground.

### SOCIAL CUSTOMS

I find the same defect in Dobrowolski's method of dealing with the social habits and customs as I have already noticed with regard to folk-lore and traditions. There are specific instances of particular baptisms, marriages, and deaths, evidently taken down from the lips of Gypsies; but no attempt is made to give any connected account of the ceremonies that accompany these events, nor to set out any peculiarly Gypsy customs which may still survive. Much of what is told us simply bears on the rites of the Orthodox Church, and would apply equally well to any peasant. I have therefore not thought it worth while in many cases to reproduce the Gypsy text; but have simply given a summary of the description.

#### *The Gypsy House*

When a Gypsy is asked what is the difference between a Gypsy cottage and that of a peasant, the usual reply is:—*Čisto buti! Mór o kxér pirdaló trin divés* (It is much cleaner! Wash the house every three days). Also in our houses are many girls: you can't marry them all. *O kxér čaénža pxerdó!* (The house is full of girls!) *Lačó kxér tólko čaénža.* (A house is only beautiful through girls).'

There is no cross beam across the cottage, which, according to the rites and superstitions of the peasants, has a symbolic meaning. There is no *pol* in the cottage: the *pol* is a partitioned-off space at the wall, near the stove, where animals are sometimes kept.

*Nané bángi gažikaně kaštani, a 'sě bángi romani sastrani* (There is not a wooden poker such as the peasants use in the cottage, but there is a Romany iron poker). In a peasant's cottage there is seldom to be found a pestle for pounding fat:—*O kurdó aménde, kai o bálavas kuréna; gažénda o bálavas karavína adé piri, o tódě oné adó karíta syčkása čingírna* (We Gypsies

always have a pestle for pounding lard; the peasants boil their fat on the fire in pots, and then chop it in a trough with a chopping-knife).

The floor of the cottage is of wood. When it is cold in the cottage a fire is lit on an iron oven-lid, laid right on the floor:—

*Roskér yag maškeró kxér pe zaslónka, t'avéla kxer tató* (Light a fire in the middle of the house on the oven-lid, and the house will get warm).

In the floor is a trap-door, usually on hinges—(The Gypsy says):—*Vilé pχál, vikéde o pχuyané* (Lift the trap, get out potatoes). *Do kxér bešabnáskiro, bánzi* (There are chairs and benches in the house), and also a *slóniž*, the narrow bench used by peasants. *U nás šeranduní lači* (We have got good pillows and feather-beds): the Gypsy likes to wallow on a soft bed. *Do kxér develá roméste lači* (The ikons in a Gypsy's cottage are good ones): the Gypsy loves elegance, and he decorates his house with comparatively precious and beautiful ikons.

To the Gypsy's cottage there is attached only one additional building (outhouse), *štála* as the Gypsies call it, *zadvórok*, 'back-yard' in the peasant's expression. The peasant's outhouse has only two partitioned parts, while the Gypsy *štála* has four divisions. In the *štála* horses, cows, and pigs are kept; and there also the hay is stored. Sometimes there is no outhouse, and the horses are kept under 'God's thatch' (the open sky).<sup>1</sup>

### *Before and After the Marriage Ceremony*

When we come to deal with the ordinary events of life, we find that Dobrowolski has very little to tell us which can be classed as of peculiarly Gypsy origin: most of his details would apply to the case of any orthodox Russian peasant. It is only here and there that one can disentangle something which seems to be undoubtedly a Gypsy custom. I have already translated his description of the betrothal ceremony and the betrothal song. Later on he gives some sentences, descriptive of points connected with the actual religious ceremony, which show that it is conducted according to the orthodox rites; though, if I understand the passage correctly, there seems to be also a 'bedding' ceremony.

*Me dél o devél saró šukár!* May God give all good!

*Navéla ioi obíženo améndřr, te žalínás te počitenás.* She shall not be affronted by us, we will regret and honour.

<sup>1</sup> *Štála* seems to be the Hungarian *Istálló*, 'a stable.'

*Kindáva láke vénko žvyeténdér, kindáva láke trevťki lačé, nevyestáka peskiriáka.* I will buy her a wreath of flowers, I will buy good shoes for my own bride.

*Te jás taló vénža de kxangerí, terdyovása po rušńiko, zaχač-kirása memalá.* We will go under crowns to the church, we will stand upon the foot-cloth, we will light candles.

*Uryóla o rašái o vénži, pirivinčína men túsa.* The priest will put on the crowns, he will marry me and you.

*Léla men o drúzko, léla men paló vastá.* The groomsmen will take us, he will take us by the hand.

*Pyéna ioné e bravínta, i dúža kírna tǐrnén e postelyátǐr.* They drink the vodka, they await the young folks from the couch.

*O tudǐ vása te pyás te gulínás.* Then will we drink and sport.

*Šukár, so nané lajavó, so šukár vigiyá.* It is well that it was not a cause of shame, that it passed off well.

*Gulinénti i piénti, i jan tuménge kxeré, i lǐžála men ke vurdá i žása me kxeré.* Sport ye and drink, and go ye home, and he will lead us to the waggon and we will go home.

*Avása kxeré, vása te pyás e bravínta, te χás o paramé.* We will come home, and we will drink vodka and eat cakes.

*Otpiyí tradéna lén pe postél.* Having drunk they conduct them to the couch.

*O χryósno dát, o χryósno dát, odalá bešté pálo skamínt.* The father and the mother who gave away the bride, they sit behind the table.

*I na χulyasén, romále, šǐr slučilas, na űbrakírén man níkái: ěyem barvaló, dolesa i rúdo.* Be not angry children, how it has happened, do not reproach me: to whom is the wealth, his too is the pleasure (i.e. you are welcome to all I have).

This passage seems to be of the nature of an epithalamium, though it is not so called: it describes the ordinary features of an orthodox wedding ceremony, combining the betrothal and the actual marriage; the walk to the church with the crowns held by the groomsmen over the heads of the bride and bridegroom; the advance by the pair to the cloth of pink satin which is laid down for them to tread upon (superstition says that whoever first places a foot on the cloth will be ruler of the house); the holding of lighted candles by the pair; the placing on of the crowns, which with the interchange of rings marks the actual marriage: the

circumambulation performed by the newly married pair, led by the priest (or here apparently by the best man); and the drinking of wine from the same cup. Then comes the return home to the wedding feast: the bride and bridegroom seem to be conducted to the couch (perhaps this is a solemn bedding, such as still takes place at peasant weddings in Brittany, and was common among all classes in Great Britain also three hundred years ago). The officials and the parents sit in the place of honour 'behind the table'; the table of honour being placed, in peasants' houses, in a corner of the room beneath the ikons, and the guests sitting behind it, facing into the room, access to their seats being obtained by scrambling over the table.

### *Birth and Christening*

There are no details of great interest given in connection with the ceremonies at birth. The account commences:—*Biyándeya čavoró.*—*Já palú pχuriúte te perikér čavorés, a tó te ná merel* (A boy is born.—Go and fetch the midwife to care for him, that he may not die). Then as usual brandy is sent for; and messengers are dispatched to fetch the godfather and godmother. Apparently bread and salt are sent to the godfather: the passage runs:—*Čin maroró i lóntikír. Pχánd edó dikχloró.* Later on comes a distinctively Gypsy incident, where the godmother 'dukkers' the newly-born child:—

*Yá-že te dikχáñ čavorés, ti vibaryóla yoǎ, ti 'véla yóǎ baχtaló. Me galiváva, me žinóm, kirivi, sósa yoǎ avéla te zalélpe; me tódí táke pχenáva, kirivi. O kanoré zoralé—i baχtaló 'véla, kolí déla o Divél, avéla te zalélpe grénza, avéla te parovél e grén. Kolí déla o Divél, vára te gulínáv na krestnikóskero biyáǎ. Těuváva léske sastó po podárko.*

Let me have a look at the boy, that I may see if he will grow up and will be lucky. I shall see, I shall know, gossip, what his occupation will be; I will then tell you, gossip. His dear little ears are strong—he will be lucky, if God wills it, he will deal with horses, and will swap horses. If God wills it, I shall dance at my godson's wedding feast. I will give him a rouble for luck.

### *Death and Burial*

During the recent visit of Gypsy coppersmiths to this country the papers were full of details with regard to the burial of one of their number; and some of them referred with a certain amount of fearful joy to the incantations supposed to have been

muttered by the chief over the grave after the burial. Perhaps Dobrowolski's instances of the form of farewell uttered over the grave may explain these supposed invocations. The first is headed, 'Death of a beloved wife. Grief of the Gypsy. Lament':—

*O romni miri zanasváliya: te pal' rašáste te jás. Aryóm ko rašai: "Zdoróv, rašáya!" . . . "Zdoróv! So tu 'vyán?" . . . "Miri romni čut te jidi." . . . "Me sičás yaváva."*

*O rašai yavyá: "Ti xayán tu só?" . . . "xayom tu ná-but." . . . "So-ž tu xayán?" . . . "Bukoró ná-butka." . . . "Sír že tu dés patradí?" . . . "A mánge ná-butka." . . . Rašai diyá patradí láke. Tólki giyá o rašai, romni meýá; trébi te jás palé rašáste.*

*Néko, rašai yavyá. Líné te rovén, líné do gróbo te téuvén . . . "Sír nemóžno kádine pašilo gerá? Ioi isšs baxtalí, i sámó priyútíšča 'sis. Saró ko yúkiri 'sis. Nikái na díkχésa adasavé romnyá próti báχ. Xatiyán kakána bi-romnyákíro!" Líné adó gróbo. Rašai zabagandyá.*

*"Miri románori, konésa man mekésa i péskire čavorén? Xasiyóm me kukaná! Našadyóm péskiri báχ! So 'dá Divél kírdyá? Adá Divél kírdyá—čavoré miré yašnénpe siroténža! Jáva adorik, kárik o yakχá na díkχéna."*

*"Ná, Ná, mek! Túke romnyá latχása, i o čarén aréla te kormíne. Na цаχодise adyáke, móre, a tó yačéla adó šero píji! Tu žínés só? Isši romnyá, búť 'ši po svéto! Vřipiyás mortvali!" "Mánge adyáke kirkó 'ši!" "Ai, piyás, móre; fededř tuk' ačéla!" Náke, líyá te téuvél; ne i piyá i zabagandyá:—*

*"Me po kóčkížu beštó 'som,  
I peskirí baxtori me našadyóm!  
Xatiyóm me, čororó,  
Péskire čavorénža!  
Romalelé, romalelé,  
Na pomekén man, čavalalé,  
Adó baró adó strádížo!"*

My wife was ill: it was necessary to go for the priest. I came to the priest: 'Good day (Health) Rašai!' . . . 'Good day! why have you come?' . . . 'My wife is barely alive.' . . . 'I will come at once.'

The priest came: 'Have you eaten anything?' . . . 'I ate a very little.' 'What have you eaten?' . . . 'A little bit of liver.' . . . 'How can I communicate you?' . . . 'But I only had a very little bit.' . . . The priest gave her the communion. The priest had hardly gone, when my wife died; it was necessary to go after the priest.

'Well, the priest came. They began to weep, they began to beat the breast.— [The Gypsy begs of the priest], 'Cannot one burn a little incense about her legs!'

She was a lucky wife, and was a refuge to us. All my hope was in her. You never saw such a woman for luck. I am lost without my wife !' They put her in the coffin. The priest chanted.

[The husband began to lament] : ' My little wife, with whom have you left me and your children ? I am ruined now ! I have lost my luck ! God, what hast Thou done ? It is the work of God—my children are left orphans ! Thither will I go, where eyes see not [*i.e.* I will kill myself].'

[The other Gypsies say] : ' Nay, nay, cease this ! We will find for you a wife, and the children will be fed. Brother, grieve not thus, what you have in your head is not good ! Do you know what ? Seek out a young wife, there are plenty in the world ! We will drink some vodka !—' I have bitterness enough without that ! [This is a sort of play upon *goreylocki*, and *gorko*.] ' See now, let us drink, brother ; there are better times coming for you !' He poured out a little ; he drank it off and began to sing :—

' I am seated on the hillock,  
And I have lost my happiness !  
I, wretched one, am lost,  
And my children with me !  
Gypsies, Gypsies,  
Leave me not, my kinsmen,  
In my great grief !'

Apparently the widower soon thought better of matters, and took the advice of his kinsmen ; for in the passage which immediately follows this in the book, he is courting another girl.

A specimen is given of the farewell to the dead, said over the grave, which is no doubt the incantation referred to by the English papers. It runs as follows :—

*Ná rov, só-š tu kerésa ?  
Dívěľ díjě, i Dívěľ lijě.  
Žárstvo léske.  
Trěbi bĭlo léske te poživěľ bérša dui.  
Ján palá rašáste.  
Děnte rašáske trin žalkóva lově.  
Mei yavěľ o rašái atasyjě i me garavěľ.  
Yavyá o rašái.  
Jánte, prostíněnte !*

Weep not, what can you do ?  
God gave, God has taken.  
His is the Kingdom.  
He ought to have lived two years.  
Go and fetch the priest.  
Give the priest three roubles.  
Let the priest come to-morrow and bury him.  
The priest has come.  
Go, make your farewells !

Another 'Farewell to the dead' runs thus:—

*Mo áavoro málenko, na zabistír pe 'ménde, pe čororénde.*

*Dósít, dóšít.*

*Ná ro, ná ro.*

My dear little son, forget not us, miserable creatures.

Enough, enough.

Weep not, weep not.

### *Songs and Music*

I do not propose here to go into the question of the Gypsy songs, of which specimens—the majority of which come from the district of Kisilevsk—are given in the third part of Dobrowolski's work. Dobrowolski says that the Gypsy songs are short, but picturesque, and with a certain literary character. They hymn the Gypsy's daring and dauntless courage; his bewitching love; they bewail his bitter fate in prison; his parting with his kin, etc. These would be obviously incomplete without the music which accompanies some of them; and I leave this to be treated at some future time by a musician. I give, however, a lament from the village of Kudrazyevo, in the district of Yelninsk, which is sung as a sort of chant. It is called 'A wife's lament for household troubles':—

*Man o dát otdíjýa paló róm dár. Man róm mardyá, protradíjýa me. Ioŭ pŕučéla me: "Só tu yandyán tre pšaléndír zoraléndír?" ... Me Dévla, Dévla, čárde man kukuškižása t'urnyáá. Bestyóm pe brézižu nasúprati kŕér. O pšal oxtíldýá páškiža te stryeltípe me kukuškiža. ... Mro pšaloró, me sóm tumarí pŕénori! Me man róm mardyá, protradíjýa: márta, čingírta, protradéla, baró pridánoya vimaréla. Róm pŕenéla: so-ž tu yandyán tre dadéstír barvaléstír, tre pšaléndír zoraléndír? Né, só-ž tu yandyán?" Vímárta o róp<sup>1</sup> i o rúp i o soŕnakái ... "Mri pŕénori, mri pŕénori, ná ro; já telé brezižáto(r), já telé!" I čurdýápe kukuškiža manušésa. I zarundýá o dát i o pšalá saré: "Katír tut yandyán o Dívél? Ná ro, ná ro, mri pŕénori! Sáro 'méndu 'véla! Jid' avása, našerása i čal' avása; jid' avása i pridánoya dása láke, i o rúp i o soŕnakái, i šukár lása te žirás."*

My father gave me in marriage far from home. My husband beat me, and ordered me away. He asked me: 'What did you bring from those mighty brothers of yours?' ... O God, O God, change me into the form of a young cuckoo that I may fly away. ... I perched on a birch-tree opposite my home. My

<sup>1</sup> *Rop* for *rom*, perhaps for the sake of alliteration with *rup*.

brother took his gun to shoot me the cuckoo. . . . Dear little brother, I am your little sister! My husband beat me, drove me forth: he beats, he whips, he drives forth, he thrashes out a big dowry. My husband says: 'What did you bring from your rich father, from your mighty brothers? Eh, what did you bring?' My husband thrashes out both silver and gold.

'My little sister, my little sister, weep not; come down from the birch-tree, come down!' And I the little cuckoo changed into human form. And my father and all my brothers began to weep: 'Whence did God bring you? Weep not, weep not, my little sister! We shall earn money, and shall be successful, and shall be satisfied; we shall earn money and will give her a dowry, both silver and gold, and we shall live well.'

#### IV.—THE CRIMINAL AND WANDERING TRIBES OF INDIA

By H. L. WILLIAMS of the Indian Police  
(Continued from p. 58)

##### PART II.—TRIBAL CUSTOMS AND OCCUPATIONS

##### 1. *Pančayats (Councils of Elders) and the Ordeal*

THE *Pančayats* are an institution in vogue among all the tribes which are the subject of this paper. They are usually convened at the August clan-gatherings, and the members are chosen from among the leaders of the camps, one or more of whom may be women. The councils of the Sānsi and Beṛiha Bhāntus, if not presided over by women, admit women as members. They adjudicate concerning compensation-claims for the abduction of girls, matrimonial and family disputes, the division of stolen property, offences against tribal laws, and so forth. Offenders may be required to undergo an ordeal of which there are several kinds. Subjoined are four examples, of which the first three are Bhāntu and the fourth Baoriah:—

(1) The ordeal called the *gola*. An iron ball is heated and the accused person takes it up in his hand. If his hand is scorched, he is declared guilty; if his hand is unscathed, he is pronounced innocent.

(2) The ordeal called the *deba*. A spot, about a yard square in size, is cleared. Upon this is placed a plate containing crushed food, and upon the food a lighted lamp and two pieces of stick, of which the complainant takes one and the defendant the other. A man is then selected, who first bathes and is then carried to a



pool of deep water, where he plunges below the surface. Simultaneously the two sticks are flung after him. When the diver comes to the surface he picks up one of the sticks, the owner of that stick, whether complainant or defendant, winning the suit.

(3) Two balls are made of dough, one of which contains a rupee and the other a copper coin. Both are then thrown into a pot of water, and the accused is invited to dip his hand into the pot and take either the one which contains the rupee or the one which contains the copper coin. If he picks the ball fixed upon, he is declared to be innocent,

(4) An axe is made red-hot. The accused is given twenty leaves of the *ficus religiosa* to protect his hand, and the axe-head having been laid on them, he must walk twenty paces.

## 2. Omens

Superstitious beliefs are allowed to affect also the course of their ordinary life, and they have great faith in omens. Baoriahs carry a family talisman called the *Devakadana*. When on their wanderings *en famille*, this thing always accompanies the tribe. Grains of wheat and the seeds of a plant, contained in a brass box with a peacock's feather and a bell, are all wrapped up in a white cloth stained with the imprint of a hand dipped in goat's blood. The whole is encased in Turkey red. Baoriahs do not embark on any enterprise without first consulting the talisman. This they do by taking at random a small quantity of grain out of the *Devakadana* and counting the number of grains, the omen being considered good or bad according as the number of seeds is odd or even.

Among the Bhántus favourable omens are:—Meeting a milkmaid, a person carrying grain or money, a woman carrying a pot of water, a marriage procession, seeing a pig, etc. Bad omens are:—The cry of a jackal, the sight of a cat, mourning over the dead, a dog running with food in its mouth, a kite screaming on a tree, and the breaking of a pot by a woman when drawing water. A snake passing from right to left is good, but from left to right is bad.

## 3. Religion

The religion of the Indian 'Gypsies' who are not Hindu, or Muslim, is ancestor-worship, though some hold animistic beliefs.

They visit shrines held sacred by Indians, but only for external appearance sake. The true deities of the Bhántus are their ancestors Sidh Bína, commonly called Dáda Bína (father Bína), Bátla, Hotam, Tōto, Mála, etc., and an ancestress Máí Lakhí. An oath on Hetam, Tōto and Máí Lakhí, a Bhántu has been said never to break. Malang should also be mentioned as the spirit of an ancestor of some status, and they acknowledge Jambhú and Kúkla as evil spirits. Old tumuli existing in certain places, supposed to have been erected by Bhántus of a bygone age for religious purposes and to contain the *manes* of their ancestors, are visited by Bhántus of the present day for sacrifice and ceremonial. One of these places is the cenotaph to Sidh Bína near Lahore, and Rájah Sánsi, the burial place of the original progenitor of the Bhántus, near Amritsar, is a landmark in their ancient history. The sacrifice takes the form of slaying a cock and sprinkling the blood on the tumulus with incantations.

There is one religious platform which is common to all Indian 'Gypsies,' and that is the temple and cult of the Goddess Bhawáni, Káli, or, since she possesses yet another name, Devi. All are her votaries: in her rites a blessing is asked on their enterprises—which are usually criminal—and at her altar omens are consulted.

The oath, referred to above, is usually taken in the following manner:—A knife having been stuck in the ground and a circle drawn round it, the head of the *paně* adjures the culprit: *je tum kúlu, te túm ko kad lo*, 'if you have done the deed, then remove the knife.' Máí Lakhí is invoked to punish the accused if he is lying. Another method is to cause the suspect to go into the water up to his neck holding the knife in his hand, and there take the oath in the name of the Goddess.

One-fifth of stolen property is distributed in charity and, after a successful expedition, Bráhmans and Fakírs are fed. The religious dole is called *Naráyan ká katha*.

#### 4. Burial

Among Indian 'Gypsies' in general, the dead are cremated or interred, according to whether the tribe is in Hindu or Musalman country, but always face downwards, so that the spirit shall not return and give trouble. There are propitiatory rites and the corpse is adjured thus: 'Let not your spirit return to trouble us, lest we curse you.' On the seventh day, cooked rice, laid on

leaves of the *ficus religiosa*, is placed on the ground: if a crow eats it, the omen is good, not so if a dog eats it.

Bhántus erect masonry monuments adorned with *chattris*, or cupolas, over their distinguished dead, and they are visited for sacrificial purposes in August. The Bhántu corpse—covered with a white sheet, if a man, or a red sheet, if a woman—is carried on a bed to the burial-place, and, during the journey, the bed is thrice rested on the ground. Cooked food and grain are also brought, the former to be distributed on arrival amongst the bearers of the body, and the grain to be bestowed upon the Fakirs and Doms who attend the funeral. The latter receive also the shroud. On the seventh day after the funeral, a public feast is held in the encampment. A large wood fire is kindled on which incense is burnt, and the four leading men in the camp cast handfuls of rice in turn into the flames saying: ‘Your dues have been paid, abstain from annoying us.’ If a leading man dies, another feast is held on the fortieth day after his death.

### 5. Marriage Rites

Marriage rites vary according to whether the tribe follows the Hindu or the Musalman ceremonial; but Bhántus and Badiyas following neither are married by *phera*, or circling. On the day appointed, four wooden pegs, a span long, are driven into the ground, forming a square. A fire is lit and cotton steeped in oil cast upon it. The couple circles round the fire seven times, with their garments knotted together (*gañh jora*), gifts are exchanged and guests bring offerings (*tambol*), and so the ceremony ends. The Baoriah wedding is equally simple. They beat small drums (*dholak*), and collect themselves round the bride and bridegroom. The head-man of the tribe offers the bride to the bridegroom, and then cloths are presented to both by the elders of each party. The couple are caused to bathe together, after which the gifts of clothing are worn by them. They are then made to sit again before the assembly for a while, and the feasting and drinking begin. Their favourite beverage is toddy.

Marriage by *karewa*, casting the veil, or marriage without a ceremony, is the only form permissible for widows. It is used also when an unmarried woman is destitute or has no parents. A man's surviving brother is required to marry his widow, or, in default, she may claim compensation through a *panchayat*. When a

widow remarries, bracelets of brass are put on her wrists, and a fine of five rupees imposed. A woman convicted of adultery is disgraced, and her veil torn, the male accomplice being fined from two rupees upwards by the *pančayat*. The tongue of such a female is sometimes branded and her nose slit.

### 6. Consanguinity with other Races

As has been suggested already, all 'Gypsy' tribes have not equally pure blood: modern practice and ancient tradition show that mixed marriages occur. The Pačádas take concubines and even wives from the 'Gypsy' classes and from cognate races, such as the Máčhís and Ĵhíwars. The ties of consanguinity between the Ĵaṭs, who are believed to be a people of Scythian descent, and the Sásnis are in some parts a matter of common knowledge. At the present day, it is hard to tell where Ĵaṭ begins and 'Gypsy' ends. The Kanĵars of the South trace their origin to Ĵaṭ country in the following account which they give of themselves:—'Many years ago, there were two brothers who resided in Bhartpur. Their names were Sains Mal and Sánsi. The descendants of the former were called Berihās, those of the latter Sásnis or Sásnia Bháts. Each had a dialect of its own. The Sásnis called the Berihās Dolis and themselves Bhántu; the Berihās called the Sásnis Mahes.'

In *The History of the Panjab*, by Syed Muhamad Latif (Calcutta, Central Press Company, Limited, 1891), p. 335, will be found a genealogical tree of the Máháráĵah Raṅĵit Singh, the 'Lion of the Panĵáb,' and in the following pages his descent is traced. In 1488, there died an ancestor of the Máháráĵah, named Kálu, a Bhatti Ĵaṭ, who had settled at Ráĵah Sánsi, near Amritsar, and whose son, named Ĵaddoman, was believed to be really the son of a member of the tribe which frequented that place. Ĵaddoman was brought up in the Sásnis' camp, and led the life of a freebooter with them. Budha, nicknamed Desu, fifth in descent from Ĵaddoman, became a Sikh in 1692. Nodh Singh (died 1752), the son of Budha, married the granddaughter of Besu, Sánsi chief of Maĵíṭha; he was a famous highway robber, a *dhárwa*, and, assisted by his wife's relatives, Goláb Singh and Amar Singh, amassed much wealth. The latter became chiefs of Maĵíṭha. Čarat Singh, the son of Nodh Singh, married the daughter of Amír Singh, Guĵarwál, the grandson of Sim Náth, a Sánsi whose

conviction of the truth of the Sikh religion induced him to receive the *pahul* (Sikh baptism) at the advanced age of one hundred years. The ancestors of the Máhárājah appear to have established themselves at Rājah Sānsi, where they collected round them a number of Sānsis, Mazbis (Bhangis), and other wandering robbers, and depredated the surrounding country. With these forces, Čarat Singh, in 1762, engaged the invading army of the Afghan King, Ahmad Šāh Durāni, harassed the march of the Afghans, cut off their stragglers, and plundered their baggage.

Thus the best Ĵať family has 'Gypsy' blood in its veins. If the evidence is so conclusive in the case of the great Sardárs, it is all the more so in that of the common people. It is conceivable that, if the Ĵaťs were once Scythians, they would have found the Hindus hedged in behind their impenetrable caste barrier, and that there was no one with whom to form matrimonial connections except the Mlečas.

#### 7. *Causes of Dispersal and Migration*

Judging from the experience of the present time, the causes which operate most acutely in the dispersal of the 'Gypsies' are the restriction of their area, the extension of agriculture, the spread of canal irrigation, the reduction of jungle-land, and the diminishing quantities of game which is so necessary to their existence. The trouble may have begun under the later Hindu rulers, but there can be no doubt that it became accentuated when the Muslim power parcelled out the lands and introduced land-ownership and revenue-laws. Of the Sānsis who frequented Rājah Sānsi in the Sikh times but a small remnant is left, and of the host of Habúrahs who roamed over the plains of Aligarh there are probably none now remaining. Given a broad expanse of country to wander over at his own sweet will, and plains abounding in antelope, jackal, fox and winged game, what more does a 'Gypsy' want? But the lack of these conditions and things has developed in him qualities and habits which have brought him into great disrepute. It almost looks as if the Bhántu had declared a perpetual war to the knife against the *Káľá*.

One other factor has to be considered. The Asiatic ruler is cruel in his methods,—witness the treatment of the inhabitants of Káfiristan by the Amir Abdurrahmán in 1895, witness also the massacres of Timur the Tartar at the close of the fourteenth

century. It may have occurred that a Muslim ruler ordered the massacre or expulsion of Bhántus and others at some period. Certain Badiyas of Karnál have imperial Mughal *sanads* (certificates) some three or four hundred years old, engraved on copper plates, and certifying that they follow a lawful calling as jugglers and acrobats. The inference is that these testimonials were issued to them and other inoffensive tribes to protect them from extermination and expulsion.

As has been stated in the accounts of the Baoriahs, this people has a tradition that it was compelled, on account of scarcity, to migrate from Rájputána subsequent to the siege which the King of Dehli laid to Čitor for the sake of a Princess Padmini. The Badiyas have the same legend; and where all agree is that the particular siege was that by Ala-ud-din Khilji, which took place in 1303 A.D., and not the more recent and greater siege by the Emperor Akbar, when the Rájputs were finally crushed. The Gáda Lohárs told me that they were the artificers and engineers of the Rájputs in power in Čitor, the Mínas were the swordsmen, the Baoriahs the musketeers, and the Bhíls the bowmen of the Rájputs; and that, on the fall of Čitor, these various tribes swore an oath that they would wander over the face of the earth till the Rájput kingdom should be once again restored in Čitor. The Gáda Lohárs wandered to Nepál and many distant countries. This is the only disturbance resulting in migration and dispersal of which I have heard from the mouths of the wanderers themselves.

### 8. *Homing instinct of Foreign 'Gypsies'*

The homing instinct, to which the above story refers, is a real factor in the life of some 'Gypsies.' Evidence of it exists in the number of Mesopotamian, Persian and Central Asian 'Gypsies,' known to Indians under the names Iráni, Biloč, Arab, and Šámi. who enter India each year by the north-western passes and spread themselves over the face of the land. Faizu Iráni, the leader of a party of Persian Bhántus, told me that his itinerary lay between Constantinople and Calcutta. These wanderers sell ponies, ancient coins, Muršidábád rupees, trinkets, cutlery and such like, and plunder where they can. Sometimes, when their numbers increase and they make themselves objectionable, they are deported by order of Government under the Foreign Vagrants Act, as occurred in 1884, when four thousand of them were removed from the Nizám's dominions and expelled across the Afghan border.

I never before saw such a turbulent crowd. The women wished to visit Dehli, and they literally charged and boarded the trains to the great inconvenience of the travelling public. Many *bona fide* passengers fled from their carriages, shops all round closed and barred their shutters as looting began, the confectioners were ravaged, and not a sugar-plum was paid for.

I wrote as follows about this class in a monograph some years ago:—‘These are, according to Mr. Warburton, the Sânsis of Central Asia. They are sometimes to be met with in the cold weather months with their flocks of sorry ponies, and may be said to migrate between Asiatic Turkey and the extreme South and East of India. Their means of livelihood are usually by the sale of sham and foreign coins, Brummagem ware and trinkets, and by fortune-telling. They are audacious frauds and cheats with the impudent and truculent demeanour of Sânsis, hence the village folk are afraid of them. . . . These Gypsies are good linguists and very loquacious, a characteristic also of the Sânsis, and they are also addicted to open pillage.’ If this species, being of Persia, are asked:—‘Are you of Persia?’ they will reply: *Mâ Mughal mî hastîm*, ‘we are Mongols’; if they are really from Syria, the answer will be: *Mâ bašîndagân-i-Îrân mî bâšîm*, ‘we are natives of Persia,’ or, *Mulk-i-mâ hamîn jâ ast*, ‘our country is here.’

### 9. Rapidity of Movement

The movements of Bhântu gangs are so rapid that forty miles may be covered in one night, during which time the marked houses may be burgled, some hundredweight of cotton stolen from the Jâts’ fields, and brass utensils left unguarded in their dwellings filched.

The celerity in travel of the Sânsi dacoits can be inferred from the following passage, of which the present writer was the author:<sup>1</sup> —‘On the 16th of May 1882, a gang of eight men arrived at Ambala from Aligarh. On that night they committed six or more dacoities on the Grand Trunk Road towards Karnâl, walked along the railway to Râjpura, from whence, on May 17th, they went to Patiâla by horse carriage, and from there to Nâbha in *ekkas*. On May 18th they put up in the inn and left the same evening for Patiâla. On the way they plundered an *ekka* and reached Patiâla morning of May 19th, from whence they worked their way to Pehoa, committing three dacoities on the road.’ Under such cir-

<sup>1</sup> Unpublished State Papers, Panjâb, 1896.

cumstances members of the band are apt to be detached from it, and a system of trail signs becomes necessary.

### 10. *Marking the Trail and Secret Signs*

When a camp shifts the following are some of the signs, giving the points of the compass, which are left to inform the stragglers and others in what direction the tribe has gone:

(1) *North*. A stone placed on a mound. This conveys the idea of a mountain. The position of mountains is towards the North.

(2) *South*. Scattered fragments of a broken pitcher. This shows that the pitcher has been broken, and that the water has flowed in a stream. The trend of rivers is towards the South.

(3) *East*. Zig-zag marks are drawn upon the ground, supposed to represent the first shafts of the rising sun.

(4) *West*. The *Čulha*, or cooking-place, is broken up. This signifies the extinction of fire, and is symbolic of the sunset in the West.

Leaves from plants growing round the camp, usually a plant easily recognisable on account of its abundance, are gathered and placed in heaps under stones or clods at even distances along the route. The imprint of a foot, pointing in the direction taken, is made beside the heap of *pattar*, or leaves. At the starting-point the private mark of the tribe is scratched on a tree. A straight line with a curve at the end, traced with a stick on the soil, also indicates that the direction taken is that in which the straight line points. Sometimes a spray from the bough of a tree, broken off and laid on the ground near the cooking stones, with the broken end pointing in the required direction, is the only index.<sup>1</sup> Houses, which it is intended to rob, are marked with the charred end of a stick. The marking of the house is always done by the Bhatánis when out begging and dancing.

Guttural and inarticulate sounds are uttered by Bhántus and Baoriahs when in custody, and when engaged in highway-robbery, to communicate with one another. The victims of a dacoity have described how their assailants have smitten and assailed them in

<sup>1</sup> Many descriptions of Indian trail-signs are given by Michael Kennedy in his book, *Notes on Criminal Classes in the Bombay Presidency* (Bombay, 1908). He has, however, omitted to provide an index, and for this reason the following list of references may be useful:—Pp. 24 (Bhámptas), 54 (Chhapparbands), 71 (Kaikádis), 168 (Waddars), 178-9 (Bauriahs), 201 (Márwár Baoris), 209 (Minas), 223 (Oudhias), 250 (Sánsis), 282 (Harnis). Kennedy's spelling has been retained.



silence, except for the exchange among themselves of peculiar sounds such as *hur hur* and *hun hun*. If subjected to an interrogatory when in custody, Bhántus prompt each other by jerking the elbow outwards while scratching the head. There is a freemasonry among Bhántus by which they achieve recognition when not personally acquainted. Cries imitating those of jackals, foxes, or owls, all have their meaning; and the following are examples of communication by sound:—

(1) Guttural sound, with the mouth closed, like the cry of a night-jar, 'police are coming.'

(2) Palm of the hand held to the mouth to produce a squawking noise, 'disperse, run away.'

(3) A squeaking noise, like that of a mongoose, made by kissing the palm of the hand, 'laggards come up.'

Of signs with the hand the following have been given:—

(1) Hand scratching the cheek, 'approach.'

(2) Pointing with the elbow, 'lift the article.'

(3) Striking the palm with the fist, 'wait.'

(4) Hand on the chest and elbow raised, 'clear off with the swag.'

(5) Hand raised to the shoulder and elbow lowered, 'drop it.'

## 11. Language

It would be idle to expect that a people scattered centuries ago throughout districts where many tongues are spoken would have one uniform speech. Regarding the languages of Indian 'Gypsies,' the *Indian Census Report* (1901) says: 'Their character changes with the locality using them, and, while retaining a backbone peculiar to the particular dialect, assimilates the local vocabulary and pronunciation.' This backbone consists of words—substantives and some verbs—from an unknown tongue, probably the parent of Bhántu, or universal 'Gypsy,' kept up by the tribes in their wanderings for home use, and to facilitate crime. It may be something more than mere coincidence that a Bhántu calls a Gentile *Kájá*, for there are other parallels: compare, for instance, European Gypsy *jukeľ* 'dog,' with the Bhántu word *chúkal* for the same animal, Badiya *bhúkal*, Máng *jhúkail*, Máng Gárudi *zúkail*, and Ramoshi *kúkal*; and the down-country Bhántu *chúra* 'boy,' *chai* 'girl,' which are also Pačada words, with Romani *čavo*, the origin of which Pott and Miklosich could not trace. Remarkable

also are *kúdra* 'horse (stallion),' *maíla* 'horse, lóbu 'money,' *balua* 'pig,' and *Máng Gáruđi laf* 'money,' *ṭuk* and *ṭukar* 'a morsel,' and no doubt many more which are not heard in any Indian dialect spoken except Bhántu. The word for crime in Bhántu is *gaím*, and in other dialects *gauni*. Thus the *Gauni-mar Hárni*, 'a handsome wench endowed with a sauey frankness,' who, if caught by her dupe, threatens to expose him for cohabiting with a Čúhri, is rightly termed the one who commits crime.

The words of strange and obscure origin excepted, the rest of the subject of language may be summed up in Richardson's words: 'They (the Badiya Naṭs) have two languages peculiar to themselves, one intended for the use only of the craftsmen of the set, the other general among men, women, and children. The Hindostani is the basis of both; the first in general being a mere transposition or change of syllables, and the second apparently a systematic conversion of a few letters. . . .<sup>1</sup> The following are examples of the latter from the Bhántu language:—

BHÁNTU	PANJÁBI	ENGLISH
<i>asariya</i>	<i>áya</i>	come (past part.)
<i>asarna</i>	<i>ávna</i>	to come
<i>ban</i>	<i>san</i>	burglary
<i>bib</i>	<i>ib</i>	now
<i>bítri</i>	<i>khatrí</i>	shopkeeper
<i>bona</i>	<i>sona</i>	gold
<i>bora</i>	<i>čhora</i>	boy
<i>bori</i>	<i>čhori</i>	girl
<i>čagakna</i>	<i>gahna</i>	jewellery
<i>gauga</i>	<i>gaya</i>	gone
<i>jasarengre</i>	<i>žáwenge</i>	we shall go
<i>jasarna</i>	<i>žávna</i>	to go
<i>khaṭjila</i>	<i>žila</i>	district
<i>nánhedár</i>	<i>thánedár</i>	police station-house officer
<i>ṭhom</i>	<i>moṭh</i>	lentil

On the other hand it would be interesting to know in what other Indian dialects Bhántu words such as the following occur:—*čáwar* 'a watchman or constable,' *ghábri* 'goat' (possibly a disguised form of *bakri*), *kíngal* 'bullock,' *khapla* 'salt,' *khimaṭ* 'buffalo,' *kunṭ* 'wheat,' *láli* 'night,' *lálsi* 'cow,' *pingi* 'fire,' *seṭh* 'gram,' *sipri* 'rice,' *ṭúnda* 'pig,' etc., etc.

<sup>1</sup> *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii. p. 461.

12. *Use of Unguents*

Dr. Hans Gross, in his work on criminology,<sup>1</sup> says that some Gypsies in Europe are distinguished by a peculiar and offensive smell, which is likened to a 'compound of musk-rat tainted with rancid fat.' It pervades the air of a court-house and the soil of the ground where a camp has been for days after the Gypsies have gone. This identical smell distinguishes all the Bhántus and practically none of the other Indian 'Gypsies.' I have registered hundreds of Baoriahs under the Criminal Tribes Act, and they have not emitted a tithe of the odour that two or three Bhántus will create in a room. I have come to cross-roads and picked up the trail of a Bhántu camp by the scent, especially where the road has lain between tall hedges of brushwood. On searching a Bhántu camp, a number of clay pots are always found, containing grease of various kinds. A popular grease is extracted from the tail of the broad-tailed lizard, and jackal fat is used to promote virility. I have attributed the smell to the use of such unguents, but it may arise from some other cause. A Sánsi woman told me she had no use for water except to assuage thirst. Bhántus, in fact, seldom bathe, and not many can swim, whereas some Badiyas are strong swimmers, and the Moras, or water Gypsies, are amphibious.

13. *Charge of Cannibalism*

The charge of cannibalism has often been brought against the Gypsies of Europe, and from it their Indian brethren are not exempt. I reported as follows in 1896:<sup>2</sup>—'Agriculturists have a version that they (the Sánsis) are still anthropophagous. I have had stories related to me of how some unfortunate rustic, bent on the restitution of some property of which he had been deprived, pursued the encampment and was seized and slaughtered, and, after being cut up in pieces, thrown into the cooking pots.' Another case involving a similar charge was reported by me in the same year:—'The following incident may be mentioned as illustrative of the summary vengeance inflicted by Sánsis on those who betray them. Aĵineri and Tota, Sánsis of Uda's camp, had been secured as approvers by the special agency employed in in-

<sup>1</sup> *Criminal investigation . . . translated . . . from the System der Kriminalistik of Dr. Hans Gross . . . by John Adam . . . and J. Collyer Adam, London, 1907.* pp. 361-2.

<sup>2</sup> Unpublished State Papers, Panĵāb, 1896.

vestigating dacoities of the past year. On the 27th of September 1895 Aĵmeri and Tota were sent with Manga Constable to Alwar and Bhartpur to obtain news of the perpetrators of the Pahárganĵ dacoity of the 3rd of that month, which had been suspected to have been committed by members of Mihrpál's camp. On the 9th of October, the whereabouts of the suspected gang was learnt at Kapúri in the Bhartpur State, whence the constable was sent back to fetch a force of police to make arrests. Meanwhile the approvers took up their quarters in the camp of Músa Habúra. During the absence of the constable, an armed party of the suspected camp raided that of Músa and kidnapped both approvers and carried them away. Subsequent inquiries removed all doubt regarding the fate of these men. The affair ended in a tragedy. Aĵmeri and Tota were murdered by men of their own tribe in the Bhartpur State, and, after the crime, a section augmented the camps Uda and Darba in the jungles of Guḥám. Mihrpál's was originally a *dera* of much multitude, and came from Kosi in the Mathura District, Uda's and Darba's being his offshoots.' The headman of Mihrpál's camp was a famous Sánsi named Kaptán. According to my Sánsi informers, Aĵmeri and Tota were judged by the *panč*, condemned to die, and, to obviate discovery of their remains, their carcasses were eaten.

I may add here, as another example of a charge made against both Indian and European Gypsies, that kidnapping of children is a crime peculiar to the Bhántus; nine-tenths of children kidnapped by them are females, and the object can be inferred.

#### 14. *Hunting and Fowling*

Practically all Indian 'Gypsies' are hunters and fowlers: those who are workers in rushes, grass and wattles, will drop their task at the sight of a jackal and make a rush for the nets. The more primitive the tribe, the better the hunter.

Bhántus catch the *sandā*, or broad-tailed lizard, which dwells in rat-holes in the ground and lives always in fear of the cobra, in the following manner:—The Sánsi sallies forth with a wooden mallet in one hand and a tuft of tough grass in the other. On his belly he wriggles up to the *sandā*'s hole, rustling the tuft of grass with a noise which resembles the crackling of a snake's scales. The *sandā* comes up tail foremost, and blocks the orifice with his pachydermatous appendage. The Sánsi then delivers a

crushing blow with the mallet on the earth an inch or two on the inside of the *sandā*, closes the passage, cuts off retreat, extracts the lizard and stuffs it into his shirt. If a party of 'Gypsies' have, in this way, been paying attention to a cavalry parade-ground, there is some hard swearing next day when the troop-horses turn somersaults.

Not less ingenious is the method, common to Bhántus and other 'Gypsies,' of capturing sand-grouse. On a cross-piece at the top of a pole, the 'Gypsy' suspends an ochre-coloured sheet. Sand-grouse from all around come running up twittering in great excitement. When there are sufficient about him, the 'Gypsy' throws the net. Natives say the birds are *ášiq*, enamoured, of the yellow garment; the truth being that the 'Gypsy' is all the time imitating the birds' own calls.

Two things are the great stand-by of all 'Gypsy' camps in the way of shikar apparatus:—the *phanda*, or noose, and the *báwar*, or net. The first consists of sharp-pointed bamboo stakes of various sizes, in grooves of which, at the blunt ends, are attached thongs of catgut with running nooses and slip-knots. The *báwars* are giant nets with pockets, into which the 'Gypsies,' and the dogs they always employ, drive the wild pig and jackals and spear them. In the jungle, the game make paths, and in these the *phandas* are planted for hare and partridge, sometimes arranged in a circle with a call bird in the centre. Moras capture the alligator by throwing the noose over his snout. This is drawn taut, and the amphibian having been secured with a strong rope is hauled by main force on to the bank. If an alligator escapes, a Mora is able to follow him into the water and attack him in his own element. People say that a crocodile is able to smell a Mora from a considerable distance,—which is not incredible!

For trapping wild duck, Gandhilas have an ingenious device, which is said to be known also to the Chinese:—On the extensive shallow swamps, called *jhils*, where the duck congregate, the Gandhilas cause to float about, driven by the wind, a number of earthen pots. When the duck are quite habituated to the presence of these pots in their midst, a Gandhila, having on his head a similar pot provided with two eyeholes, wades out into the swamp up to his neck in water, and finds his way into the flock of duck. There he seizes the birds under the water by the legs and tucks them away one at a time into a net.

For porcupine, a trap is laid in the path fashioned by these

animals through the brush-wood. The trap consists of a pit, over which are placed twigs, grass, and earth, the weight of the porcupine causing the fragile structure to collapse, and landing the creature in the pit from which there is no escape. The porcupine, after being killed, is encased in wet clay, and baked. The fire causes the clay to harden. When this has occurred, the clay mould is broken, and the cooked flesh removed while the quills remain adhering to the clay.

A great deal could be written about Indian 'Gypsy' sport. I shall end this brief account with a description of a big day with the Baoriahs. Having located a herd of antelope, they proceed to plant bamboo staves, about six feet apart, in two lines a mile or more long, forming an angle. At the head of each staff is a coloured tuft, and at the apex of the angle, formed by the two lines of staves, an open space is kept, which is planted with several rows of *phandas*. The Baoriahs then with their dogs and tomtoms line up to form the third side of the triangle, and enclose the herd within it. At a signal, the men shout, the dogs bark, the tomtoms are beaten, and a forward movement begins. The herd moves towards the converging lines of stakes; but, the leading buck not liking the look of the coloured tufts, glances aside, and he and his followers go off at a gallop for the opening at the apex. They seek to clear the lines of *phandas* at one spring, but the Baoriah knows how far an antelope can leap, and has calculated the distance to a nicety. The result is that half the herd is on the ground, sprawling and kicking, caught by the forelegs in the nooses. Their throats are then cut. Thus with *phanda* and *bíwar* and his *chúkal*s (dogs), the Baoriah shikars the *ákheri* (antelope), *gádar* (jackal), *lúmbar* (fox), and *čiri* (bird), and the *Kájá* with his gas-pipe is not in it!

### 15. Industries and Occupations

Almost all Indian 'Gypsies' manufacture traps and snares for catching game. Every Bhántu camp that I have searched has possessed a liberal supply of *phandas* (nooses), and, though the Sáni and Beriha Bhántus are the least industrious of their kind, I suppose that they are made by themselves. Mat-weaving is an occupation of the Doms: all who are popularly known as Čangar are basket-makers. The latter wander long distances to the river-beds to gather wands of the tamarisk, commonly known as

*leh* and *pilēhi*, with which to carry on their industry. The tribes engaged in this trade are the Baṛaṛ, Mora, Dom, Čúhṛa, and others. Kučband Badiyas makes brushes, sieves, and winnowing-baskets. All 'Gypsies' are sturdy and pertinacious beggars except the Banjaras—I have never known these to beg; their ideas are too lofty for such a means of livelihood. The term for begging is *máng pin ke khána*. Selling love-philtres, charms, and roots possessing mysterious properties is a traffic peculiar to the Sánsi and Beriha Bhántus.

Snake-charming is confined to the Badiya Sapaidas. I knew also a tribe of Berihas who caught, kept, and exhibited snakes; but they did so because, they said, the people insisted on it and expected them to catch the snakes in their houses. They, however, lost so many persons through snake-bites that they gave up the business. Badiyas enjoy so wonderful an immunity from loss of life by snake-bite that it goes without saying that they are in possession of secret antidotes which are unknown to any other tribe. It is popularly believed that a Sapaida has scruples against taking snake-life. This is true only with regard to their tame snakes; wild snakes they destroy and eat.

An occupation common to all 'Gypsies' calling themselves Dom and Bhát is that of genealogists and pedigree-keepers to the landowners and yeomen. The Sánsis, who are the Bháts of the Ját landlords, make special visits to their patrons' domiciles on occasions of domestic importance such as marriages, or births in the family, and are received with much ceremony and rejoicing. They receive munificent gifts, in return for which they recite the prowess of the family's ancestors in the past; the Bhatánis dance and sing; the Mirássis (Doms) of the tribe provide instrumental music, and the fun and frolic last for days. Unfortunately these periodical visits of the Bhántus are synchronous with a good deal of crime in the neighbourhood: and, since their patrons extend their fostering patronage to their own pedigree-tellers and are indifferent to the loss and damage that the neighbours sustain at their hands, the consequences are sometimes unpleasant.

Although Kanjar and Dom are numerous enough in the wandering state, there are, in the towns and villages, colonies of these people who occupy quarters known as *Kanjar-pura* or *Muhalla-Kanjarán*, and *Muhalla* and *Maddi Mirássian*. The Kanjar element is undoubtedly descended from the same common source as the Bhántus; but the town Mirássis seem to be akin in

origin to the Čúhṛa-Doms. These classes provide all the professional nautches, the Doms having a monopoly of orchestral music, while the nautch-girls are all Kanĵaris, also styled Kančanis. They must not be confounded with urban Paphians of the common or street class, for they stand high in the social scale of those who entertain the male sex. To every one who has seen the Kanĵars and the Doms in their wandering state, a view of the same people in their quarters in the outskirts of the towns must bring home the fact that the huts which they occupy are none other than the *pakkhi* tents come to rest. Pernas are the same people as Berīha, the Bhántus who prostitute their women; and between Perna and town-Kanĵar there is merely a distinction without any difference. Sánsis, on the other hand, would scorn to traffic in their women: their lapses from morality are due either to their own choice or to certain contingent circumstances such as tribal policy and need. Berīha women will take up their abode in the prostitutes' quarter of a town for the sake of mere meretricious gain, just as the Hárni women follow their husbands to Bombay to pursue the oldest profession in the world and enjoy the patronage of Panĵábi stokers and sailors: but the Sánsi women will be found in a similar situation only when their object is to facilitate a burglary, to dispose of stolen property, or to further some scheme of swindling. The proneness of 'Gypsy' women in the past to frequent the *čaklas* (brothels) led no doubt to the creation of the town-Kanĵar class. There is no other community in the cities that will have social relations with them. I once asked an Indian friend what he knew about the origin of these Kanĵars: he replied, 'All I know is, that they are *tukham-i-šaitán* (seed of the devil)!' Nevertheless, they thrive exceedingly, and such is the influence of the Kanĵari dancing girls over the moneyed men, that large estates have passed from the hands of young aristocrats into theirs. They command prices running into hundreds of rupees for an entertainment. The Doms similarly are in the highest rank among skilled musicians, and the two classes, both in the cities and the jungles, are inseparable, since the music of the Doms is necessary to supply time and melody for the song and dance of the Kanĵaris. In Ĵaṭ country, it is said that no other women can compete with the Sánsi songstresses in the fascination and the amorous tone of their *ghazals*, *mahbúb-ĵánis* and *rabais*, which are the varieties of love-song most dear to the Indian taste. Not only do the manners and ways of the town and



country Kanjars agree, but also some of their agnates: but their ethnographical relations are not generally understood and I have therefore treated the subject at length.

Other musicians among the Indian 'Gypsies' and cognate tribes are the Kaikádis of the Deccan, the Čáras of Gujráť (nicknamed by the Sánis 'Popliya'), and the Bhiráins of the Panjáb, who may, however, be a kind of Dom. Musical talent may be said to be confined to the Bhántus and Bhangis: the Banjāras and Baoriahs have little or no notion of it, and, of the Badiyas only a section practise it. Some Badiyas seek employment as palanquin-bearers, hence Dolia, the Bhántu nickname for them.

An interesting class are the Banjāra Gádia Lohárs, blacksmiths who travel about with carts drawn by bullocks. They build their forge on the bare ground in a few minutes. Making a pipe in the soil, covered over with earth and plastered, they insert at one end the mouth of their bag-shaped bellows,<sup>1</sup> and at the other light a charcoal fire. With the left hand the smith works his bellows, and with the right manipulates the piece of metal on which he is engaged. His tools consist of an anvil, a hammer, a file and a few others. The Hesis work in the same fashion, and the Badiya Sikligars are also workers in metal and knife-grinders. They use a revolving grindstone fixed by its axis to two wooden posts planted in the ground, and turned by one man by means of a leather strap, while another man sharpens the implement. They also, like the Lohárs, make their workshop on the open plain or in any convenient place.

### 16. *Crime*

The meaning attached officially in India to the name 'Gypsy' is 'wandering and criminal tribe,' and it is the criminal actions of such races which have made them an object of interest and study. An Anglo-Indian writer of note<sup>2</sup> states: 'Professional criminals really mean the members of a tribe whose ancestors were from time immemorial, and who are themselves destined by the usage of caste to commit crime, and their descendants will be offenders against the law until the whole is exterminated and accounted after the manner of the Thugs. Therefore, when a man tells you he is a Badhak, or a Kanjar, or a Sonoria, he tells

<sup>1</sup> These bellows are of precisely the same type as those figured in the plate opposite p. 195 of the last volume (vol. v.) of this Journal.

<sup>2</sup> *India*, by Sir John Strachey, London (Kegan Paul and Co.). 1888, p. 294.

you, what few Europeans thoroughly realise, that he is an offender against the law, has been so from the beginning, and will be so to the end.' The Kanjar and Sânsi Bhântus are first on the roll of crime, and it was from them in bygone days that the Thugs used to be recruited. Thuggi is no new trouble. In ancient times, the Emperor Akbar had 500 Thugs hanged; but Firoz Šâh Khilji, one of the mildest of monarchs, put them in boats, conveyed them to Bengal and let them loose. Thévenot, the traveller, described their ways in 1665:<sup>1</sup>—'They use a certain slip with a running noose, which they cast with so much sleight of hand about a man's neck that they strangle him in a trice. They have another cunning trick to catch travellers. They send out a handsome woman upon the road who, with her hair dishevelled, seems to be all in tears, sighing and complaining of some misfortune which she pretends has befallen her. Now as she takes the same way as the traveller goes, he easily falls into conversation with her, and finding her beautiful, offers his assistance, which she accepts. But he hath no sooner taken her up behind him on horseback than she throws the snare about his neck and strangles him.' He refers, of course, to the *Gaunimar* whom I have mentioned already, and to the use to which, in the days of old, they put the *phanda* noose.

The Civil Administration in India instituted a stringent inquisition against all classes of 'Gypsies' in 1830 and the following years, in consequence of a gruesome discovery by Sleeman, which flashed upon the public conscience like a thunderbolt, that gangs of from 30 to 700 persons, known as *Phânsigars*, or Thugs, had, for no one knew how long, been putting to death, from motives of plunder, untold numbers of people, by strangling them with nooses, or poisoning them with stramonium (*dhatûra*). Moreover, other gangs of wanderers called Baoriahs, Sonorias, Badhaks, Khiçaks, etc., had, since time immemorial, committed gang-robbery and burglary, called dacoity, unchecked. Thugs interred their victims in graves called *bhîls*, which, in Oudh, for example, were placed at intervals of five miles apart along fourteen hundred miles of road. Bandelkhand gangs had murdered 210 persons, Mâlwa and Khândesh gangs 232, and Berâr gangs 385. Ramzân of Oudh confessed to 694 murders and Bahrâm to 931. To most people it seemed incomprehensible that wholesale murder should be associated with religious ceremonies, and that Musalman and

<sup>1</sup> *British India*, by R. W. Fraser, London (Fisher Unwin), 1896, p. 211.

Hindu joined promiscuously in the worship of the Goddess Káli or Bhawáni. But my readers know already that Indian 'Gypsies' follow the cult of Bhawáni and have heard, not only how they are Hindu, or Musalman, as fancy dictates, but also that what they do not know about thong-nooses is not worth knowing. A Thuggi and Dacoity Department was created in 1840; *Phúnsigars* who escaped hanging, Baoriahs, and others, were conveyed to an Industrial Settlement at Jálalpur in 1838, whence they absconded as chance offered: vast numbers were recaptured, hanged, or transported.<sup>1</sup>

As in the past the Bhántu was foremost in Thuggi, so is he to-day in Dacoity. In the seventies, the Aligarh Sánísyas committed 66 gang robberies in the Panjáb, for which local Jats were arrested, and in some cases committed, but released when the crimes were traced to the Bhántus. The Sánísyas concerned were conveyed to a reformatory settlement at Sultánpur, in Oudh, and afterwards transferred to Khepi, where there may still be a small remnant. A train-load was transported to Jálálpur in the Multán District; and there, in 1908, I found only two women surviving married to local Jats,—the rest had fled. In 1882, the country round Lahore was ravaged by Sánísi dacoits. In 1895, the country from Ferozpur to Gurgaon was depredated. In 1900, they turned their attention to Madras. In 1902, the Dehli countryside claimed notice from them. But their crowning exploit was completed in, or about, 1905, when Sánísis from the Sutlej, under Sundar Singh, committed 137 gang-robberies, murders, and burglaries on a line from Dehra Dún to Gorakpur. Sundar Singh incurred the displeasure of his tribe, and, his life being threatened, turned King's evidence. It took the court several days to reduce his deposition to writing, and the judges remarked on the marvellous memory of a man who could neither read nor write and who yet did not allow a single detail of what had occurred during many months to escape mention, and who was corroborated in every particular. I have already remarked on the faculty of memory which these people possess.

Such attacks are carefully planned and delivered in silence. When Kaptán led in a dacoity, witnesses have said that they have heard the cry of a jackal in the night, and the cadence of notes taken up as if by a pack; then dark forms, naked but for loin-

<sup>1</sup> *History of India*, by Mountstuart Elphinstone, London (John Murray), 1905, p. 208.

cloths, with their faces trussed in scarfs called *pathkas*, and swinging long staves over their shoulders with a circling motion, came bounding over the bushes and natural obstacles and rained crushing blows on the attacked. Hardly a word was spoken, but the robbers made guttural sounds while stripping and pillaging the victims.

If the Bhántus excel in dacoity, the Baoriahs are no less proficient in burglary. In 1887, Colonel Gaṛāj Singh of Nepál was staying at Tuticorin in Madras. Baoriahs from Bidaoli, in the north, got wind of the fact that he was possessed of valuables, burgled his residence, and came away with swag amounting to 239,000 rupees, of which 80,000 rupees were in currency notes and caused their undoing. The same Baoriahs, in 1873, had burgled Rājah Rām Singh's house at Agarji, in Central India, to the tune of 332,000 rupees. The gang resisted arrest, and Tota and Bina, Baoriahs, were shot dead by Mr. J. W. Williams, of the Police. Čatru, the leader, died of his wounds in jail.

The crime that is committed in India by people other than 'Gypsies' and their congeners is a negligible quantity. In the making and uttering of counterfeit coin, they are *facile principes*. Kidnapping female children is a crime peculiar to the Bhántus; none of the others practise this particular form; but decoying male infants to rob them of their ornaments is common to Baoriahs and most other tribes of 'Gypsies.' Sānsi pickpockets at fairs are provided with a penknife, a pair of scissors and a sharp piece of glass, carried in folds of the turban, with which to cut pockets and the netted waistbands in which Indians carry money.

Most Indian 'Gypsies' are adepts at the three card trick and the confidence trick. A favourite form of the latter is known as throwing the *kara*, or bangle. A bangle made of base metal, coloured to look like gold, is dropped. A Sānsi accosts the finder, offering to go halves, hush money is given, and the *kara* is returned to the finder. Or a Baoriah, or Čapparband, posing as a simpleton, offers a good rupee with an inquiry as to whether it is current. If it is accepted, he changes some counterfeit coins mixed with one or two more which are genuine. He can pass off counterfeits by sleight of hand, holding a short juggler's wand to justify the contraction of his muscles. The dupe is kept distracted by conversation, or, in other words, the success of the trick depends on diverting the attention of the audience. Similarly three or four Sānsis will collect at a shop, and, while some haggle

about prices to engage the shopkeeper's attention, others walk off with his goods.

When in the neighbourhood of villages, Sânsis steal goats and poultry. Cattle straying, or feeding in jungle or waste lands, are driven away with the herds of the tribe and sold as opportunity offers. They lift articles off carts and horse-vehicles going along the high road, and when troops are on the march are very expert at crawling into tents at camping grounds, and stealing clothing and boots. Luckily, they have no use for the arms, or they would prove the most expert rifle-thieves in the country. It is related of the Kanjar Sânsis of Dehli, in the early years of the British occupation, that, after having gutted a bungalow, or a tent, of its movable contents, they would tickle the ears of the sleeping occupant, in order to make him turn over on his side, so that they might remove the bed-clothes from beneath him.

It might be thought that, with all this enterprise, the Sânsis and others would be gifted with a good deal of courage. The reverse is the case. Baoriahs and some Badiyas have, on occasion, undoubtedly shown pluck; but Bhântus do not possess that quality. Thugs would not adventure unless they were in the ratio of three to one of their victims, and the success of a Sânsi dacoity has always depended on the suddenness of the onslaught, the complete state of unpreparedness of the attacked, and their unarmed condition, of which the criminals take care to satisfy themselves beforehand. A few resolute men, warned in time, can hold their own against an army of Bhântus.

### 17. *A Native Account of the Bhântus*

I shall conclude this part with excerpts from a descriptive essay on the Bhântus by an observant young Indian official. The particular camps which he had studied were those of Jâmu, Debia, Čappan, and Umra (Bediyas or Berihās), and Buṭa and Hira (Sânsis), whose wanderings lie in the Jammu and Panjāb sub-montane regions. These Berihās or Bediyas must not be confounded with Badiyas, who have Rājput *gotras*; the *gotras* of the former are:—Khaṭṭar, Miṭṭhar, Luddar, Ghāro, Madāhar, Kalandar, and Khārečār. The Sânsi camps which associate with these Bediyas are the ordinary Panjābi Bhântus.

‘These people are Sânsis by caste. . . . They call themselves Gandhilas, Bangālis, or Pernas [to the *Kājjā*]. They go to Lahore

and Amritsar, where they call themselves Pernas, and mix with the Muhamadans there [the writer means with the Kanjars and Doms of the cities]. They say that they belong to the religion of the Imán Šáfi. They are afraid of settling down in one place and calling themselves by the name of Sānsi, for, if they did so, they would be registered under the Criminal Tribes Act.

‘Their camps consist of numerous donkeys, ponies, dogs, snakes and fowls. Their animals destroy the crops of the village in which they put up. In the day-time, they keep a nominal watch over the animals, but, in the night-time, they intentionally allow them to graze on the fields having crops thereon. When the owners seize them for the pound, men and women rescue them forcibly. If, anyhow, the Jāts succeed in taking the animals, the women and not the men pay the fine and take delivery of the animals.

‘When the Sānsis come and encamp at a place, some of them go to the jungles with dogs on hunting expeditions; some go to beg; some to sell *buṭis* and *giddar singhis*, etc.; some wander about in Sādhu’s costume [ascetic’s dress]; some, disguised as doctors, assert that they take out worms from the nose, ears, or brain. The headmen go to see the big men of the village with large turbans on their heads. Each party of men has a different intention and a different work to do. The men who go hunting in the jungles also acquaint themselves with the caves, etc., to take refuge in the same.

‘The men who go to sell the *buṭis* (charms) make relations with the villagers and say, “Look, I make you my religious brother. I give you this *giddar singhi* (jackal’s horn), this will solve all your difficulties, and this will bring fortune to you,” etc. etc. Sometimes they will give the *giddar singhi*, mixed with *sandhūr* (vermilion), to the so-called religious brother (*dharm bhai*), and tell him to place it in his box containing jewels and cash, or, if the man is a simple one, they ask him to show the box so that the *giddar singhi* may be placed in it by themselves, repeating *mantras* (incantations) over the box. In fact, there are no *mantras*, but their object is to gain knowledge of the contents, which, after some time, they steal.

‘*Giddar Singhi*. They say that one jackal out of a thousand has a horn on the head, which horn has numerous mysterious properties. But really they make it themselves in the following manner:—When they kill a jackal, they take out the sharp upper teeth (*suas*), with a portion of the skin bearing the moustache,

then they wrap the teeth in the skin in such a manner that the teeth come in the middle, and the skin and whiskers around them.

‘*Man mohani*, or Enchanter of the heart. This is also an artificial thing. They pass it off as a prescription for *hub*, or love. Whenever a person has to present himself before an officer, or to attend a *darbār*, or when anybody wishes to win the affection of a woman, or of a man if a woman, they advise him to keep it with him because the possession of this strange thing will solve all difficulties and all the desires will be fulfilled.

‘They collect maggots from dirt and old wood, and keep them carefully in a bag, and then ask people if any one wishes to have his maggots taken out. They keep a bamboo tube with them, and putting one end to the nose, or ear, of the victim blow maggots down the tube and frighten the dupe that he had many maggots in his head. Then they demand money to take out the maggot’s nest. This *chika*, or nest, is really the skin of the paws of the iguana. This is taken off and dried up, and becomes a small, little thing. They put this in the mouth and it swells up by the wetness of the spit, and is blown down the tube in the manner described above.

‘A tame snake is let go behind a shop, or a house. Then they go in front of the house, and smelling here and there say, “We smell a snake in the house.” The owner promises to please them if they will take off their clothes, and catch the snake. The naked Sānsi, playing on an instrument called a *bīn* with a *čadar* (cloth) in his hand, enters the house and catches the snake which was let off by himself. While inside the house, he takes particular note of the boxes, rooms, etc., to commit burglary later on.’

The presence of Bhāntus in the neighbourhood is indicated by the snatching of earrings or ornaments from the persons of sleeping women, and by mysterious stone-falls at night for two or three nights in succession. During this period people keep awake to watch their property, but when the stone-falls cease, the exhausted inhabitants sleep, and are robbed. Sometimes the raid is committed during the stone-fall, and my informant writes:—‘One party takes up the task of throwing stones; the villagers run after them. The running thieves also shout out, “thief, thief,” and the villagers, thinking them to be their own men, allow them to pass on. If taxed afterwards, the Sānsis say:—“Are you in your senses? Is it credible that thieves throw stones and commit theft after

rousing the people up?" They steal sugar-cane, maize, etc., by imitating the cries of jackals and foxes. The owners, thinking them to be such animals, are content with shouting from a distance to scare them away. They go to flourmills and steal the bags of flour by night. They rob threshing-floors in this fashion:—Two men swinging their arms run across the floor. The watchers pursue them. The remainder of the raiding party carries the grain away in their shirts.

'Generally they say they have no liking for the flesh of sheep and goats, and that what is most delicious to them is the meat of jackal and iguana, but that is not at all true. If they are able to catch hold of any sheep or goat they kill it at once. If any one asks about the contents of the cooking-pot, they say it is the meat of jackal or iguana.

'Some Sânsis having ornamented their women so as to look of imposing appearance take them to a lonely place. The Sânsi hides himself in a bush while the woman sits to attract any passer-by. She induces the comer to pay up the fees in advance. . . .

'With their camps they have got some surplus men whose names are not entered in the [police] roll-call. These men's wives become enccinte and give birth. When asked about who they are, they say they are widows. When questioned about the pregnancy, or about the children, they name a Jât as the father. . . . Sânsis have got several names for one and the same person.

'They select a rich man in the village to whom they pay several visits. They at first sell him stolen property for small prices. Then invite him to come to the camp for something of much value. The rich man goes to the camp with money. The Sânsis also show him the property; but, just as the purchase money is paid down, a person in the guise of a constable comes on the scene . . . The rich man, knowing that receiving stolen property is an offence, does not report the matter.

'With their camps they have a number of crowbars, spears, and large needles. As regards the crowbars, they say that they use them for pitching the tents. The spears are for killing the otter, tortoise, etc., and the needles for sewing and fastening the flies of the tents.' The writer shows how all these things have a burglarious use.

'They make burglarious entrances so narrow that it would appear that a man could not pass through them, but these people



give such a bend to the shoulder that the body diminishes in fatness and they creep inside. When the hole is completed, a turban is put on a stick and passed inside to see whether the inmates are asleep or awake. . . . If matches run short inside the house, they throw sand, and by its sound tell where are utensils, etc. If the owner begins to wake up, they imitate the voice of a mouse, and the owner again sinks to sleep. When the owner has got a ferocious dog, they can make it very gentle. If there is a bitch in season, a bit of cloth is smeared. . . . The dogs stop barking, and begin to pay attention to the cloth.'

## V.—NURI STORIES

Collected by R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, F.S.A.

(Continued from Volume V. page 234)

### XCIX

Ásti min hnónā sáþáki kádd dāwāðaki. Kuriismék grēwárūski. Ást' ábúskā potrēni; nāndössānni kártalēmā. Štirde min hnónā kuriāk-sāuie, kātūirde potrēs u cārdēndsān. Ári min hnónā sáþ, pánwāmā cíf-kerdi, u grésmā, u átósmā. Lāherde potrēs, štirde min hnónā, bāgerde pánwāk kánāwīos u bāgerde gres kánāwīos, u bāgerde kánāwīos átóski.<sup>1</sup> Nī gál-keri wāšsān sáþ, wālā grēwárās-kuri nī gál-kerāndi wāšs: kuriāmék sap li-ājōti u 'rāti. Potrēs bōlwi, u pánjī ūlli tīllik minjtsān u zīriāte kēlāndi potrestā. Gāzārsānni u nīngri ākuriāmā u lāhere° ōsāþās gāri grēwárās-dīrī. Štirde min hnónā u hāldi bāhārtā u potrēs mārdeńdsān, nī mānde ākuriāmā gōir yikāki. Nāure ātústā, lāherdeńdis, cārīrik pāci kiyākānkā u mārdeńdis. Sābāhtān gārā grēwārā uyārtā tīlliātā.<sup>2</sup> Sāyil-kerdōsis tīllātmāli "Sāþ ūlli kuriurmēyā,<sup>3</sup> kīndā gāri?" Cīndā ābuskāwā grēwārā "Hāldi bāhārtā, u potrēs mārdeńdsān." Mīndā hālos grēwārū, bāndā dōsārās kātūirdeyā<sup>4</sup> gōrwān u rāwāhrā.

There was away there a serpent the size of a camel. She was in the house of a sheikh. She had children: she put them in a hammock. The masters of the house arose from there, stole her children and hid them. The snake came from

<sup>1</sup> Note variety of formulae for the genitive.

<sup>2</sup> An unusual case of declension of an adjective.

<sup>3</sup> Another remarkable example of polysynthesis = *kāri* (house) + *ur* (thy) + *mā* (loc. suffix) + *ēyā* (predic. suffix).

<sup>4</sup> A very exceptional construction of the past tense of the predicative suffix.

there, spat in the water, and in the cooking-butter, and in the flour. His [the sheikh's] sons saw, they rose from there, broke the jar of water and broke the jar of butter and broke the jar of flour. The snake does not speak [*i.e.* take heed] to them, nor does the sheikh's household speak to her: the snake is in the house till to-day and to-morrow. His [the sheikh's] children were many, and she [the sheikh's daughter] who was big among them and the boys play with her [the snake's] children. She bites them and entered that house, and no one saw that snake but the sheikh's daughter. She [the snake] rose from there and descended to the sea, and her children they killed them, they did not leave in that house but one. They sought for it, they saw it, it was hidden behind the things, and they killed it. In the morning the sheikh went to the big city.<sup>1</sup> The governor asked him, 'The snake that was in your house, whither did she go?' The sheikh said to him, 'She went down to the sea, and her children we have killed.' The governor betook himself, bound the negro who had stolen the cows and went.<sup>2</sup>

## C

*Kan diyēs barēni, yikāk 'aḳlilēk yikāk mufalēk. Inhe° wāšīsān kiyāk. Gārā wācūcūnd, tā-rāsre kūštōti dē. Hnōnā ḡālāki mītl jāri. Lāmmā lāherdōssān ḡāl-kerdi ābsānkā "Āhlān wāšāhlān bēnom-potrēmā." ḡāl-kerdi 'aḳlikā "Ātū ja kaliēnsān, bārūr mānīcār kārūmā." Sīnūlā ḡālisk, pārdā kaliān wa ḡārā rā'i-kersān. Wā būd-mā ḡārā, ḡāl-kerdā barāškā illi mufalēk "Par kēš barārākā, par barārākā tārān das mōnā wā ānā." Pār-dōsis wā ḡārā pānjī. Rāūrā. Lāherdā fā'ōs. "Kēi māngēk mēšim? Ibkarā hrāri? Hānā ēmonās wā ēānā." Kurdōssān ābūs. Rāūrā, lāherdā ḡenā pācīs. "Kēi māngēk ḡenā? Dēmri ḡenā mōnāk wānāk?" Kārdā ābūs. Rāūrā. Tāl pāndāki pānjī kwāri ābūs li-rāsra bārus. Inhe° wāšī wālā mōnāk wālā ānāk li-rāsra bārus. ḡāl-kerdā ābūs 'aḳil "Ka mōnā illi lān-dārās?" ḡāl-kerdā mufālā barāškā "Lak ēkājjās: rāsrosim" (māld-kerdā ḡāstōs ātūstā) "min illi kildōm kūrīdā wā-āmmā ātūri wāšim: kan ibkarā: kull-mā rācūmi kārāmi ābūškā mōnāk wā ānāk, lāmmā la māndā wāšim kiyāk." ḡāl-kerdā ābūskārā bārus illi 'aḳili "Windirci, bārā" (yāni jānāri inni bārus mufalēk) "windirci hnēna ātū, intā bātur kaliēnkā wā āmā jāmi nānām kēšās." Māndā bārus wā ḡārā, lāmmā<sup>3</sup> nānār kēšās illi iktōs pāndāstā. Būd-mā ḡārā, bārus kildā (mufālā) sāžrīstā ḡārrābki. Kan kālīe āḡarsānni. Cīrdā kaliēnkā "Āmā kwāmi ābrānkā ḡārrāb; mōnās barōmkā ḡārrāb: lāmmān ḡāricār kāmūār. Izā-kān nī māndēs ābūs, māšmrān." Cīnāri*

<sup>1</sup> In order, as the narrator explained in an Arabic gloss, to complain against the negro that otherwise appears abruptly in the last sentence.

<sup>2</sup> This whole story is very confusing on account of the ambiguity of the gender of the pronouns. In any case, like some of the preceding tales, it is so condensed as to be barely intelligible.

<sup>3</sup> For *lāmmā*, "when," we would naturally expect *tā*- "in order to."

wā kwāri kaliénkā. Kálie kéndi, kan ibkäre. Hāldā sāžartā wā kānīdrā bēn kaliénkā, kan māndēndi barúškā mītl-mā gál-kerdā ābsánkā. Nī lāherdā kīyātk. Tillā-kali, māndēk dī kārūn siriistā kurnismā. Gál-kerdā "Mārdómrvān, māhlūf tillāski: mārāmīs°, sindā gālmkā." Mārdōssan gīstānēn. Nī māndā gār tillā-kaliā ābsánkā. Gārīrā bārūs 'ākil, rāsrā, lāherdā káliēn mārīrēndi. Gál-kerdā mufaliskā "kan kerdā āhā kāmās?" Gál-kerdā ābúškā "Nī mānde——" jāl-īhrā. Zāl-īhrā bārus wā bīrā gālēki: gál-kerdā mufaliskā "kēkī kerdōr ēfeni? Es-sū ā lāhermānni [gāl], kē kēri minjimin? Nāštān hōf lāhermānni." Wā-āmmā mufālā nirdāhrā jar. Bārus nāsrā, bārus el-ākil.

Gārīrā mufālā gālā-kuriātā, wāšisi tillā-kali. Gál-kerdā ābúškā, "ka kálie?" Gál-kerdā ābúškārā "Éfeni wā ēfeni īhrā ābúškā, hāli. Bārōm nāsrā, bīrā." Gál-kerdā "Gāzēli, īstī āmā wā tīr, nānānsān min-šān kāmūnānsān." Gāre pānjī wā pānjī, wāndēnd-sān. Nānkārdēnd-sān kārīāmā. Mīndōsis, tīrdōsis gōnūmā, bāndā kápīās gōnūāki, kurdōsis bītūstā: gārī škā-feri kāmēs mufalīstā min-šān kāmūnā mufālās. Bād-mā gārī, māndi dīrus kārīāmā, wā dā-kerdī āgi. Gál-kerdā mufālā lūciūkā "In-kāl āmātā wā in-kīlāmī ātūrtā āgi." Kōldi ātūstā gōnūā-dāf bāndōsis. Pāf-kerdā āgi ātūstā. Tāti-hri pāni gāzēl. Istāldā gālik-dīrī, tīrdōsis pānūmā wā nāsrā. Cīndā wāliā, nī sākrā gāli cīnār erhōnā. Erhōnā lāherdā bārus el-ākil wā gál-kerdā ābús jāl-īhrā. Āri gāli. Kāmēs āre wāšis kārīātā, nī lāherdī maṭ. Nāuri mufalīstā, nī lāherdōsis wālā lāciā. Āri kāhryātkā illi agtēk, kānīdri minjīs, lāherdī dīris minjī. "Āhā kāmūs mufalīk." Gārī pācis lāmūn mārāris. Lāherdōsis cīndēk wādiā. Cīrdi ābúškā "Ārū, bēnom-pitr, ārā tā-kāmūnā māsī." "Mārāsīm, nī āuāmī°." Gārīrā kārīātā. Rīsrīk. Wā pānjī (gēb-hri gam āher dīsās) māndā bārus, gārīrā gālēkā wā nīngrā emārīntā, mārāri minjīsān gīstānān. Škā-ferā hrēz; cīrdā "Mufālā mārāri emārīān illi hīmmāsmēni." Štīrdā gālā min sāsīk tā-lāher mufālās wā mīnārās. Nī lāherdōsis pānjī. Pārdā emārīān mārīrēndi wā gārā barúškā, wā pārdā jāndri wāšis. Lāmūnā rāsrā bārus wā šnārdā āgi, hēnārdā emārīān wā kāndi. Mānde dēriāšīntā li-sābāhtān. Wā-āmmā gāli lāmūnā kīldā dīs nī lāherdī emārīān wālā jāndri. "Nī kerdā ākāmās gār mufālā." Rāsrōsis tā-mārāris. Lāherdōsis cīndēk wādiā. "Ātū kerdōr wāšīm gīš āhā kāmās: gār mārāmīr!" Gál-kerdā mufālā "Gār-mā mārāmīr!" Gārīrā kārīātā, āmmā mufālā wā bārus gāre dēākātā, nī lāherde minjīs maṭ; bāḡā sūnīs kam-

kernāndi bārē. Wēsre sāžārāk āhār lāmīnni rih-hōcānd. Ni lāherde [kiyāk] ilā āre štar tmāli, kōldēndi góriān. Lāmmā rāsre dēā āre sōūiēs, lūkin mufūlā kildā lāmmān lāherdā mātin wā tmāliān. Āre. Pārdā jāndri wā kildā sāžārtā, wā 'ākil nāsra. Āre gōrāndeale āhār sāžārāki illi mufūlā dtnis. Wēsre āhāris. Nānde ābsānkā kēs; tīrdēndis āgrīsān. Bāda fūmnār mufūlā bi-siri hāris, mātūr-hrā wā hāl-hrā tmāliān siriētā. Gāl-kerde tmālie "Wārsr' ed-dinyētā wā rā d-fērā dnyā; nāštān." Mānde kēsās wā nāsre. Nādi-kerdā mufūlā bārus, cīrdā ābūs "Ārū, lak ēkešās; ārū, kēmān." Kādām-hrā 'ākil, sar kērā. Cīrdā mufūlākā "Kēkā 'nkeḡe' wāšīm ēkešāsk?" (sar mufūlā kērā góriānk bārī). Gāl-kerdā ābūskā mufūlā "Kāmi idrākāk wārākā." Bā d-mā kēre mīndē hālōsān, gāre uyārtā. Gāār-kerde kiyākēsān, pārde kārās, štālāurdēndis dī sāndāk hālāwi, wā gāre kūnānd hālāwi dēmā, wā rāurde. Rāsre gāliā. Lāherdōssān gāli. Cīrdi ābsānkā "Ātme ni hrēsi, ātme dīā bāre ni hrēsi, yikāk mufulēk yikāk 'āklī?" "Mikrēn āhā gāl-kerēk ātsāntā? Āme injānāne: āme hālāwik kunīnne hrēni: in kun māngēk, par mīnjīmān, hālī jan." "Kēnāūsīm." "Hālei sāndāk mā, kēmān." Hāldi. Lāmmā hāldi, bānde kapiā ātūstā, pārdēndis wā gāre wādiātā, tillā āgik kērde, kurdēndis pānjī [wā] sāndāk sāūā, lāmmā wāšri wā mri. Bād dīs gārīre kūrīātā, pārde kiyākēsān wā gārīre dēāsāntā: gūzēlēni, drarēni, šē hrēndi.<sup>1</sup>

There were two brothers, one was wise, one was a fool. They had nothing. They went to seek [a living] till they reached a little village. There was there a ghul like a woman. When she saw them she said to them, 'Welcome to my sister's sons.' She said to the wise one, 'Go thou with the goats, let thy brother remain in the house.' He hearkened to her word, took the goats and went to pasture them. And after he was gone she said to the brother who was foolish, 'Take food to thy brother, take to thy brother thirty loaves and eggs.' He took it and went. He walked on. He saw his shadow. 'What dost thou want from me? [said he to the shadow] Art thou hungry? Here is this loaf and this egg.' He threw them to it [the shadow]. He walked on, he saw him again behind him. 'What more dost thou want? Shall I give thee another loaf and an egg?' He threw them to it. He walked on. The length of the road he was casting to it, till he reached his brother. He had neither loaf nor egg when he reached his brother. The wise one said to him, 'Where is the bread which thou broughtest?' The fool said to his brother, 'See that man: he followed me' (he pointed his hand to it) 'from the time when I left the house he has been coming with me. He was hungry: all the while I was going on, I was casting to him a loaf and an egg, till nothing remained with me.' The wise brother said, 'Stay here, brother' (you see, he knew that his brother was a fool), 'stay here thou, pay heed to the goats and I

<sup>1</sup> The story as here printed is a transliteration from the Arabic MS. of an intelligent native servant, corrected and accentuated by analogy with the stories collected by myself. It is the same story as that of which Ex. XIV is a bowdlerised version: compare the note to Ex. LXIX.

will go and fetch the food.' His brother stayed and he went in order to fetch the food which he threw on the road. After he went his brother (the fool) climbed up a locust-tree. The goats were below it [*lit.* them]. He said to the goats, 'I will throw locust-pods to you : leave [some] locust-pods for my brother, that when he returns he may eat. If you leave none for him, I will kill you.' He cuts and casts to the goats. The goats ate, they were hungry. He descended from the tree and looked among the goats, [to see if] they had left for his brother as he said to them. He saw nothing. A big goat, two pods were left on the point of its horn. He said, 'I will kill you, except the big goat : I will not kill him, he hearkened to my word.' He killed them all. He left only the big goat of them. His wise brother returned, he arrived, he saw the goats dead. He said to the fool, 'Who did this work ?' He said to him, 'They did not leave —' as it happened.<sup>1</sup> His brother was angry and feared the ghul : he said to the fool, 'Why hast thou done thus ? When the ghul sees us, what will she do with us ? Let us flee lest she see us.' But the fool did not want to go. His brother fled, the wise brother.

The fool returned to the ghul's house, the big goat with him. She said to him, 'Where are the goats ?' He said to her, 'Thus and thus happened to them [*lit.* it], oh aunt. My brother fled, he feared.' She said, 'Good, let us rise I and thou, let us fetch them that we may eat them.' They went, he and she, fetched them. They caused them to be brought to the house. She took him, put him in a bag, shut the mouth of the bag, cast it on the ground : she went to summon her relations to the fool in order to eat the fool. After she went, she left her daughter in the house, and she lit a fire. The fool said to the girl, 'Open for me and I will make the fire rise for thee.' She loosened on him the string of the bag, which bound him. He blew up the fire for her. The water became well heated. He took up the ghul's daughter, put her in the water, and fled. He crossed a valley, the ghul could not cross there. There he saw his wise brother and told him as it happened. The ghul came. Her relations came with her to the house, she saw no one. She sought for the fool, did not see him or the girl. She came to the cauldron that was on the fire, looked in, she saw her daughter within. 'This is the work of the fool.' She went after him to kill him. She saw that he had crossed the valley. She said to him, 'Come, my sister's son, come to eat the meat.' 'If thou slay me I will not go.' She returned to the house. She was angry. And he (the sun set at the end of the day) left his brother, returned to the ghul, and went in among the chickens, kills all of them. The cock cried out : it said, 'The fool is killing the chickens that are in the coop.' The ghul rose from sleep to see the fool and to take him. She did not see him. He took the dead chickens and went to his brother and took the quern with him. When he reached his brother and lit a fire, he cooked the chickens and they ate. They stayed in their place till morning. And the ghul when day arose saw neither chickens nor quern. 'No one did this work but the fool.' She followed him to kill him. She saw that he had crossed a valley. 'Thou hast done to me all this work [nothing will serve] but that I kill thee !' The fool said, 'But that I kill thee !' She returned to the house, but the fool and his brother went to a village, they saw no one within : its owners remained at work outside. They sat under a tree to rest. They saw nothing till four soldiers came, riding mares. When they reached the village, its owners came, but the fool arose when he saw the people and the soldiers. They came. He took the quern and climbed up the tree, and the wise one fled. The horsemen came beneath the tree up which was the fool. They sat under it. They [the villagers] brought them food : they put it before them. The fool began to beat on the bone of his head, and let urine and excreta drop on the head[s] of the soldiers.

<sup>1</sup> *Fūl-thrā* is equivalent to 'and so forth' ; *nī mānde* being the first words of the brother's speech, which the speaker considers it unnecessary to repeat.

The soldiers said, 'It is raining on the earth and thundering: let us flee.' They left the food and fled. The fool called his brother, said to him, 'Come, see this food: come, let us eat.' The wise one approached, he began to eat. He said to the fool, 'Why dost thou not eat this food with me?' (the fool had begun to eat the horse-dung). The fool said to him, 'I am eating vine-leaves.' After they had eaten they betook themselves, went to the city. They changed their things, took a donkey, loaded it with two boxes of *halawi*, and went to sell the *halawi* in the village, and moved on. They reached the ghul. The ghul saw them. She said to them, 'Are you not, are you not the two brothers, one a fool, one wise?' 'Whence dost thou say this of them? We know them not: we are merchants of *halawi*: if thou desirest it, take from us, let us go.' 'Feed me.' 'Descend into the box, let us feed thee' [*lit.* eat]. She descended. When she descended they shut the lid on her, took her and went to the valley, made a big fire, cast her and the box together [on it] so that she was charred and died. After a day they returned to the house, took her things and returned to their place: they were well, satisfied, and happy.

## CI

*Gārēn min huóna amā u mañmām-pitr tā-nēn kārēmān āhār  
ādētā mañmām-pitros. Sītēn tārān ārāt erhōnā. Sābāhtān  
mīndā dī emāri min dēiki u gārā minjīsān kttrāntā. Kundōssān  
bi-nīm inkhīlā. Štīrdā min huónā gēnā. Rāwāhrēn kuriēmīntā.  
Mēil-īhrā dēākātā āhā zārō, mīnda emāriūk-potrēs emāriūki.  
Pācīsne, kāštōtēni. Kānidre kājje, ni lāherde tilli-emāriū,  
lāherde kāštōtēn<sup>1</sup> siskān. Cīrde kājje "Ni pārdā emāriūn gār  
Dōm." Rāsrēndmān tārān kājjēk, gārnuārdēndmān dēitā,  
nīrdēndmān grēwārāškā. Cīrdā grēwārā "Ūhā zarēs jānūmsi,  
mīnāri° emārie [sic], āhā zārō illi wāšīs mīnāri: wārt-kerās  
ōrās u mīnās ōrās." Mīnde ōrās u gārnuārdē pālēs pācīs, u site  
ārātos. Sābāhtān pārdēndis uyārtā. Āre Dōmānkā. Cīrde  
"Kōwās pōtrā āhā?" Cīrde "Inhe° ābūškā bōi: bōtos mrēk."  
Cīrdā grēwārā "Kēlkā mīnāri emāriūn min dēimānki?" Štīrdā  
min huónā "Pārāmus tillā-tmaliēstā." Cīrde Dōme "Pārēs."  
Pārdōsis tmaliēškā. Cīrde grēwārā li-tillā-tmāli "Ūhā pārrāri  
emāriēmān, u rāsrēnis pāndāsmā u mīndēn emāriūn mnēsīs u  
<sup>2</sup>gārnuārdēnis dēitā. Ārātīgos sītā. Sābāhtān nāndēnis uyārtā  
tā-[di]knuārdēnis Dōmānkārā." Cīrde Dōme 'Ūhā mnēsīmān  
inhe°' cīrde: 'inhe° ābūškā bōi, bōtos mrēk.' Nāndēnos ābūrkā,  
[ya] tillā-tmāli, hāttā bēn hāstērkā, tuyēs ellāsmā u buniyēs."  
Tmāli bāndōsis u cīndā ālāstu tārān wars. Lāmmān fīlk-kerdā*

<sup>1</sup> Note rare deension of adjective.

<sup>2</sup> From this to the end has been wrongly printed at the end of xxxviii: it should there be expunged, as well as the first two sentences of the appended note. The confusion was due to the disappearance of a loose leaf of my notes, which was overlooked and recovered too late.

*tărână wársăn kōlîră zăro u năsra Cūjētă u wésră erhônă das wars u mra° erhônă.*

We went from there, I and my uncle's son, to lead our donkeys down to that place of my uncle's son. We slept three nights there. In the morning he took [i.e. stole] two chickens from the village and went with them to the Christians.<sup>1</sup> He sold them for half a *majidi*. He rose from there again. We went to our tents. That boy went towards a village, took a hen's chickens from the hen. They were behind him, they were small. The men [of the village] looked, they did not see the big hen, they saw the little birds. The men said, 'No one took the chickens but a Nuri.' Three men followed us, they made us return to the village, they conducted us to the sheikh. Said the sheikh, 'This boy I know, he does not take chickens, that boy who is with him takes them. Loose ye this one and take that one.' They took that one and made his arms return behind him [bound his arms behind] and slept in the night. In the morning they took him to the town. They came to the Nawar. They said, 'Whose son is this?' They [the Nawar] said, 'He has no father, his father is dead.' Said the sheikh, 'Why does he take chickens from our village?' He rose from there. 'I will take him to the governor.' Said the Nawar, 'Take him.' He took him to the governor. The sheikh said to the governor, 'This one takes our chickens, and we followed him on the road and took the chickens from him and made him return to the village. In the night he slept. In the morning we brought him to the town to show him to the Nawar.' The Nawar said, 'He is not one of us'; they said, 'he has no father, his father is dead. We brought him to thee, O governor, here he is between thy hands, put him in prison and bind him.' The governor bound him and sentenced him to three years' imprisonment. When he completed the three years, the boy was loosed and fled to Egypt, and stayed there ten years, and died there.

END OF THE COLLECTION.

## VI.—A GYPSY TALE FROM EAST BULGARIAN MOSLEM NOMADS

Recorded by BERNARD GILLIAT-SMITH

### *Introduction*

The Moslem nomads of Eastern Bulgaria may possibly be none other than Paspatis's 'Nomades de la Haute Bulgarie.' They are the most filthy tribe I have ever met with in any country, literally swarming with lice and every species of vermin. At the present moment (September 8, 1912), while I am writing, there is a large camp of them on the great plain to the west of Varna, between the town and the British Cotton Mill 'Prince Boris.' A visit to this camp is an event not easily forgotten. Beyond the last houses and huts of the Sedentaries an extraordinary sight, unique and weird, presents itself to the gaze of whomsoever may wander in so unsavoury a neighbourhood; for close by, enclosed with barbed wire, is the refuse-heap of the town, at one end of which wild dogs are tearing at the dark red carcasses of two horses. And on the open plain to the left are pitched some thirty ragged tents, distributed over an enormous area. Dozens of dogs are yelping and fighting, but the awful din which strikes the ear as you approach does not proceed from these animals. It comes from the shouting,

<sup>1</sup> I.e. to European shopkeepers or residents.

screaming, yelling horde, swarming in and out and among the tents. Some of the men are great brawny fellows, splendid in their rags and filth. Others are frail-looking, many are deformed. The small children are naked, and their dishevelled hair is literally between your fingers as the horde presses round you and you try to escape into the open air. The Sedentaries call them *Zágundžis*. Surely they are those whom Paspatis called *farouches*. They eat *mulanó mas*, and some of them admit it.

I took this tale down from them about a year ago. It is incomplete and eurtailed owing to the impossibility of fixing their attention upon the sentence they were dictating long enough to enable me to get it on to the paper. But I have heard it from them since : a brawny fellow sat alone in a smallish tent some yards off, and I sat in a larger tent with five or six others. The opening of the larger tent faced away from the smaller one, but I could see the story-teller through a hole in the cloth. He seemed to be shouting to the earth between his knees, and rolled his head and leered as he uttered the words at full speed. And my friends were all attention, and all held up their fingers to command silence while the whole of the tale was delivered on almost one note, and while I sipped my *kaljardi* from the one grimy little cup my hosts seemed to possess.

And now I am impatient to be among them, for it is better to live and experience events than to read or write of them.

## The Story of

ČAMPARÁ-BŮJŮKLŮ-ČELEBÍ-MUSTAFA

OR

MASTER MUSTAPHA OF THE WHISKERS.

1. *Sikai si jek phuró, nai te xal, nai te piél. Lel-pe, džal-peske, kír-da jaban-da. Lel pe pesikoró, thovél ándi čánta. Džal jekhé theméste kai nai pisiki odothé. E miškojá si but odothé theméste. Müsafiri kačél jekhé kheréste. Bešél, maró te xal.*

2. *Sóra deš džené po jek kaš ándo vas. O phuró darál kai si léške i pisika. Phendás (daráilo): "Te xa maró te oná-gjöré marén man." "Amé túke in lam túke kaštá; e miškojéngge lam." Lel, ikalél e čantátar e pisikákoro šeró. O manuša daráile, ikaldé e miškojén, tasavél i pisika. Sóra lel-pe, našél ko thagár, deš džené. I pisika on džené tasaldás.*

1. There is where there is an old man, he has nothing to eat, he has nothing to drink. He betakes himself, goes (into) deserts and wild places. He takes his little cat, puts it into his bag. He goes to a country where there are no cats. There are many mice yonder in that country. He will remain a guest in a certain house. He sits down to eat bread.

2. Then there are ten people, each with a stiek in his hand. The old man fears because he has the cat. He said (he feared): 'Because I am eating bread, therefore they will beat me.' 'We have not taken the sticks for you; we have taken them for the mice.' He takes, he extraets from the bag the cat's head. The men feared, they took out (drove out) the mice, the cat throttles them. Then (the cat) betakes itself, and there run off to the king ten people. The cat has throttled ten people.



3. *Džan, čingárden kodé manušen. Avél o phuró, del selámi, pilé jek kaljardí. Sóra ikalél katúr i čánta Čampará-Büjüklü-Čelebi-Mustafá. O thagár del dúma: "Phuréja, bikin Čampará-Büjüklü-Čelebi-Mustafá améngge." Pále odová kána del dúma phenél: "Mor gi le, e Čampará-Büjüklü-Čelebi-Mustafá na-le." "So manğés tu?" "O sustipé manğáv. Jek pampóri manğáv, o paš somnakái o paš rup. Thai manğáv tuméndar e foróske o paš lové." O thagár phenél: "Dem, dem." Kail áčhilo. Liljás o thagár e pisiká. Džal-tur o phuró.*

4. *O thagár phenél: "In phušlám so šal i pisíka. Dža, phušén-les." "O manúš so šal, ói-da šal." Avilé e ričzálu. Phašen so šal. Ol phendás: "Ándo giés po jek manúš šal." Džan, agoré o Romá si, džan, éhinén jek manúš. Šuté ayglé pisíka. Pisíka in šal, Romanó mas kai si. "Adiá kačoláili, dáha adžék manúš te éhinén." Andé e manúš. I pisíka in šal.*

5. *Phánden e pisiká sindžirésa. O kilíto phayglé o vudár. Thovén mas guruvánó ayglé láte: šal i pisíka. Marnó čuté láte, šaljás. Thára džumája. Ikaldé e pisiká te phirél e askerjésa ándi čarštja. I pisíka phaygli kalésko maškár. Phenél o thagár pe askerjéske: "Vardín-man, te na šal man i pisíka." Šutá-pe i pisíka darátar pe duméste. "Te šal man i pisíka," o thagár del dúma. Duradéna, našli.*

6. *Iklísti pe džumáa. Džan te okurlár čoračojá. Iklí,*

3. They go, they call those men. The old man comes, gives a salute, they drank one (cup of) coffee. Then he takes out from the bag Čampara-Büjüklü-Čelebi-Mustafá (i.e. Master Mustapha of the Whiskers). The king says: 'O old man, sell Master Mustapha of the Whiskers unto us.' Then he when he speaks he says: 'My heart take, Master Mustapha of the Whiskers do not take.' 'What then do you want?' 'I want health. I want a ship, one half gold, one half silver. And I want from you half the money of the town.' The king says: 'I have given, I have given.' He consented. The king took the cat. The old man goes away.

4. The king says: 'We have not asked what the cat eats. Go, ask him.' 'What men eat, it too eats.' The men came. They ask what it eats. He said: 'It eats one man a day.' They go, on the outskirts are the Gypsies, they go, kill one man (from among them). They cast him before the cat. The cat does not eat because it is Gypsy flesh. 'It must be angry, let them kill yet one more man.' They brought the man. The cat does not eat.

5. They tie the cat with a chain. They close the door with a key. They place beef before it, the cat eats. They put bread before it, it eats. To-morrow is Friday. They take out the cat to walk with the soldiers in the market. The cat is tied to the waist (of the king). The king says to the soldiery: 'Protect me, that the cat may not eat (destroy) me.' The cat jumped *lit.* cast itself out of fear upon his back. 'The cat will destroy me,' says the king. They frighten it off, it ran away.

6. It climbed on to the Mosque. The Moslems go to pray. They came out,

*dželé-tar; dčhilo o imámo thai o xódža. Phenél: "Šukír i džamía," kai dikhél i písika opré. "Pále i písika," phenél, "te xuljél telé kažúl amén." Darúile o xódža. "Háide," phenél, "te našás avré theméste." Dilé, našlé.*

7. *Sóra džal i písika pále kai po them paš o phuró pále.*

*Bitdi.*

they went off; the Imam and the Hodjas remain. One says: 'Beautiful is the Mosque,' for he sees the cat upon it. 'Then,' he says, 'if the cat were to come down, it would destroy us.' The Hodjas feared. 'Come,' says one, 'let us run away to another country.' They started, they ran away.

7. Then the cat goes back to its country, back to the old man.

It is finished.

#### NOTES TO THE TEXT

If the text were not unclear in some parts of the tale, the story would not be a Nomad *Paramúsi*. Some readers will welcome this disconnected narrative, and it will remind them that I am really among Paspatis' Nomads.

The tale in question is supposed to be of the comic sort, and the funniness consists in the fact that every one is afraid of the cat. Its name, Čampara-Büjüklí-Čelebí-Mustapha, creates roars of laughter. The men are afraid of the mice, but still more so of the cat. The old man coming in and drinking a cup of coffee also provokes merriment.

*Agoré* 'on the outskirts' (*i.e.* of the town), is a hit at the Sedentary Gypsies whom they despise and whose *Čeribaši* they unwillingly submit to, for motives of policy, for he finds them houses during the worst month of the winter. If, however, a fine week should intervene in December, they are out under the tents again, just for that period, returning afterwards for another spell in their huts, out of which they are, however, frequently evicted, owing to their inability to pay the *Čeribaši* the small rent required.

The greatest mirth of all seems to be produced at the idea of the cat climbing on to the Mosque, when the Mosque is pronounced to be beautiful because Mustapha is on it.

Note in the text the absence of the *Mouillirung*. The type of language is thus the Nomad type as defined by Paspatis. Special Nomad forms consist in words toned down and shortened from the original more elaborate form found often in the language of the Sedentaries, such as *in lam* (Sed. *naná líljam*), *dem* (Sed. *dínjóm*), *gi* (Sed. *cogi*), *kodé* (cf. *kodolé*), *žuté* (Sed. *čifté*), *adžék* (Sed. *adžai jék*), *iklé* (Sed. *niklé*, and in Sofia *ikistile*), *xuljél* (Sed. *uxljél*), *dilé* (Sed. *dine*).

Note also the frequent absence of the accusative, where, in Sofia, it would be most unusual to omit it. Cf. par. 4, *džan, čhinén jék manuš for jekhé manušés*.

The introduction of Turkish words with the Turkish inflexion, eg. *džan te okurlár*, is peculiar to the East Bulgarian dialects, both Sedentary and Nomad. The former do it even more than the latter. Another East Bulgarian peculiarity is *na* prohibitive, for *ma*.

*Kir-da jahan-da* is pure Turkish (*v.* translation). So are *čánta*, *sóra*, *on* (= 'ten'), *kail* (from the Arabic), *ridžál*, *dáha*, *džumája* and *čaršija* (both with Romani endings), and *bitdi*.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

## 27.—THE GYPSY AND FOLK-LORE CLUB

In the *J. G. L. S.* (v. 234) it was stated that Mr. Augustus John was President of the Gypsy and Folk-Lore Club. As this statement, if uncorrected, might lead friends to suppose that he was still a supporter of that institution, he has requested that the following notice should be published at once:—‘Mr. Augustus John repudiates all interest in, or connection with, the Gypsy and Folk-Lore Club, Hand Court, London. In view of an entirely erroneous announcement, he wishes it to be known that he is not, nor ever would be, President, or even a member, of that assemblage.’

## 28.—No. 747

It may interest some members to know that Messrs. J. W. Arrowsmith, Ltd., 11 Quay Street, Bristol, have still several copies of F. W. Carew's (=A. E. G. Way's) novel *No. 747—Being the Autobiography of a Gipsy*, and that they would be glad to dispose of them at the published price of 7s. 6d., with 4d. extra for postage.

## 29.—PROCLAMATION

**IN** Gottes Gnaden Wir Carl Theodor Pfalz-  
Graf bey Rhein, des Heil. Römischen Reichs Erz-Schatzmeister,  
und Churfürst, in Bayern, zu Glich Cleve, und Berg Herzog, Fürst zu  
Mörs, Marquis zu Bergen Opzoom, Graf zu Veldenz, Opouheim, der Mark und  
Ravensberg, Herr zu Ravensstein &c. &c.—Nachdeme Wir von einiger Zeit hero  
mißfälligst vernennen müssen, daß dermahlen unser Herzogthum Neuburg mit  
allerley Bettler= Zigeiner= Rauber= und dergleichen Vaganten=Gesündel, da dieses  
aus denen Chur=Bayrischen, und anderer angelegener Reichs=Ständen Landen mit  
Eruß, und Schärpfe stark vertriben wird, angeheuffet zu werden begünne,  
hierdurch auch die allgemeine Wohlsahrt, ganz besonders gestöbret werde, besonders  
weilen erwehnt gottlose öftters zusammen gerottierte Leuth nicht allein denen  
Untertthanen je länger je mehr höchst beschwehrlich fallen, und die Gaaben, dann  
ihre aufnem= und Beherbergung von ihnen gleichsam erpressen, indeme sie, da  
man ihnen nicht nach Begehren reicher, Mord und Brand anzutreiben sich erkühnen  
dörffen, sondern auch gegen dieselbe grausame Mordthaten, und Diebereyen, wie es  
die laidige Erfahrung geben, auszuüben pflegen, und zu solchem Ende guten  
Theils mit Schieß, und anderen Scharffen Gewöhr wohl versehener sich befunden.

Als sehen uns dann zu Abheffung dieses Land verderblichen Unweesens, und zu  
gänglichlicher Ausrott= und Vertreibung solch zum größten Schaden, und Ueberlast der  
Untertthanen sich an= und eintringenden liederlich= gefährlich= unnutz= und schädlichen  
losen Gesündels bemüßiget, nicht nur alle hierwider verschidentlich sehen in Irud  
gegebene Mandata, und Landgebott überhaupts: insbesondere aber jenes, welches  
Weyland Unser Glorwürdigster Chur=Verfahrer JOANNES WILHELMUS  
höchsteeligsten Gedächtnus unterm dato Neuburg den 18.<sup>ten</sup> Octobris 1710. durch  
öffentlichen Irud zu publiciren gnädigst anbefohlen haben, hiemit zu bestattigen,  
erneuern, und zu jedermanns Wissenschaft durch nochmalig= öffentlichen Irud von  
Wort, zu Wort in gegenwärtiges Mandatum eintragen zulassen.

**W**ir Gottes Gnaden Wir Johann Wilhelm Pfaltz-Graff bey Rhein, des Heil. Römischen Reichs Erzb-Truchseß, und Churfürst in Bayrn, zu Göllich, Cleve, und Berg Herzog, Fürst zu Mörs, Graff zu Veldenz, Dronheim, der Mark, und Ravensberg, Herr zu Ravensstein &c. &c.—Demnach bekannt, was an Seiten der Unserm Herzogthumb Neuburg angelegener Reichs-Stände für ernstliche, und scharpffe General-Mandata, wegen der einschleichenden Zigeiner: und anderen Vagierenden Gesindels in Truck ausgegangen, und schriftlichen Ansgesertiget, auch zu jedermanns Wissenschaft publiciert worden seyen; Wann aber diese dem Rauben, und Stehlen ergebene Zigeiner, starcke Bettler, mit allerhand falschen Abschieden, und Paß-Porten versehene, ausgerissene Soldaten, dann andere liederliche Vaganten, umb willen dieselben also von anderen Orten verfolgt, und vertriben werden, umb so mehrer und häufiger Unserem Herzogthum Neuburg, zu nicht geringen Schaden, und Ueberlast der Unterthanen, sich an: und einbringen thun, so befinden Wir Uns gleichfalls necessitirt, zu gänglicher Auf- Rott- und Vertreibung solch liederlichen, gefährlichen, und schädlichen Zigeiner, und anderen unnützen, und losen Gesindels, auch weiter zu gehen, und so gar die Extrema zu ergreifen. Thun demnach Unserer Regierung zu Neuburg allen und jeden Unseren Ober- und Unter-Beambten, Land-Richtern Pflägern, und deren Verwaltern, Richtern, Castnern, Mautnern, Zöhlern, deren Gegenschreibern, wie nicht weniger, auch denen dreyen Ständen, Unserer Landschaft, und ins Gemain all Unseren Unterthanen, absonderlich aber denen Gräng-Orthen, hiemit, und in Krafft dieses gnädigst anbefehlen, auf die öftters mentionierte Zigeiner, und Vaganten, so sich inskünftige ungescheüchter in das Land herein begeben werden, all schuldigst: und möglichsten Cyfers zu invigilieren, damit Sie zu Verhaft gebracht, und an ihnen dieses Unser gemessene Mandat der Schärpffe nach Exequieret werden möchte. Und zwar ersuchen wollen Wir Ernst: und zuverlässiglich, daß diejenige, so sich in Unserm Herzogthumb Neuburg quo vis modo betreten lassen, und umb diese Unsere Verordnung einige Wissenschaft gehabt, oder, denen mit unterlauffenden Umständen nach, *presumptivè* wohl haben können, also gleich auf daß Schärpffiste torquiert, und, nach befinden der Sach abgestraffet, nachgehends aber, da man Sie inhiesigen Landen wiederum betreten wurde, ohne fernern Process an den nechsten besten zu solchem Ende an denen öffentlichen Strassen aufgerichteten Schnell-Galgen, ihnen selbstn zur Straff anderen aber zum Exempel, und nachdrucklicher Verwahrung aufgehängt, diejenige ader, welche sich mit glaubwürdiger Ignoranz, oder Unwissenheit entschuldigen können, zu empfindlicher Tortur (unter welchen Sie, wegen jetzt gemelter ihrer Unwissenheit, mehrmalen ernstlich zu besprachen) gezogen, allda sonderbar auch Ratione Consortij examinieret, und wann kein anders Verbrechen von ihnen bestanden, oder Sie überwiesen wurden, nichts desto weniger mit empfindlichen Ruthen-Streichen ausgehauen, der Schnell-Galgen ihnen ohne Unterschied Mann- und Weibs-Personen, auff den Rücken gebrennet: und so dann gegen geschwornen Urpbedt des Landes auf Ewig mit dem betroblichen Zusatz verweisen, daß selbe vor verstandener massen, auff wieder Betreten ohne alles Mittel aufgehängt werden sollen. So wollen Wir auch gnädigst, daß auf diejenige Zigeiner, und andere böse und gefährliche Leuth, so sich bey denen Straiffen widersetzen, Hand angelegt, und gestalten Dingen nach gar Fener auf Sie geben werden mö e, wie nicht weniger wann dergleichen schädliches Gesind in die Dörffer kommet, und sich

Einlogieren wolte, daß also gleich Sturm geschlagen, und so wohl eine Gemeind der anderen bey Straff zu Hilff kommen solle, auch daß diejenige, so etwann in denen Dörffern, oder Gindöden dergleichen Leutthen gutwilligen Unterschluß gegeben, und solches nit den Bözten, oder Dorffsz-Führeren zeitlich anzeigen, mit empfindlicher Leibs-Straff angesehen werden sollen, damit sich aber niemand, wer der auch seyn mag, mit der Unwissenheit entschuldigen möge, und könne, ist dieses Unser gnädigstes Mandat nicht allein auff denen Ganglen in denen Kirchen, und aussen deren bey denen Gemeinden, und sonst durchgehends öffentlich zu Verruffen, und kund zu machen, sondern auch neben denen Schnell-Galgen, oder hölzere Säulen, oder Tafeln zur Nachricht anzuhessen, dessen Wir Uns gnädigst versehen. Gegeben in Unserer Residentz-Stadt Neuburg an der Donau den 18. Octobris, Anno 1710.

Ex Mandato Serenissimi Domini,

Domini ac Electoris Speciali.

(L.S.)

Sondern gebietthen hierauf gnädigst, daß vorangezogenes mehrmahl erneuertes Mandat jederzeit sowohl bey Bestraff- als Processirung deren gefänglich einkommenden Land-Läuffer, Vaganten, und obbeschribenen fiederlich, und heillosen Gefindels für die alleinige Regul und Richtschnur gehalten, und sich umb so mehr gehorsamt, und pflichtmäßig darnach geachtet werden solle, als dieses Unserer gnädigsten Willens Meynung allerdings gemäß ist, und hierdurch auch die Wohlfart und Sicherheit Unserer Unterthanen beförderet, und erhalten werden kan. Gegeben in Unserer Residentz Stadt Neuburg an der Donau den 11.<sup>ten</sup> Januari 1766.

Ex Mandato Serenissimi Domini,

Domini Electoris Palatini

Speciali.

(L.S.)

### 30.—NEW FOREST WORDS

The following words were given to me by an old soldier called Sherred, now a New Forest tent-dweller. He calls them 'old English,' and learned them many years ago from George Lee, a fiddler, who was one of the Hampshire and New Forest Lees. Of this family only a few now remain in the neighbourhood of Southampton, and they hold themselves aloof from every other Gypsy.

*bürden, bürten*, plate.

*dórad drom*, dark lane.

*jildi korro* ! walk quickly !

*kávi*, kettle. He also gave *pompi*.

*kēzi* : brown *kēzi*, bog myrtle ; green *kēzi*, willow. The Lees use *kēze* for silk.

*kūnta*, fork.

*mejik*, sixpence.

*píela*, basin.

*pátza*, pocket.

*rak ans*, cups and saucers. He also gave *drójans*.

*ran-draff*, skimmer.

*sísi, síbse*, juniper bush. One of the Pages of Sholing gave me this word, some years ago, for a furze bush.

*skwójums, skwójums*, beads.

*tshapi*, purse.

*tshūmaj*, spoon.

ALICE E. GILLINGTON.

## 31.—TWISS ON GYPSIES

Borrow's description of the Gypsy innkeeper at Tarifa (*Zincali*, part ii. chapter iv.) might easily give rise to exaggerated ideas as to the dishonesty of such people and as to the accommodation they had to offer to travellers. On this account it may be well to reproduce what Richard Twiss, Esq., F.R.S., had to say about them. He visited the Peninsula in 1772-3, and published a very dull account of his travels, of which one edition in two duodecimo volumes was printed at Dublin in 1775, and entitled *Travels through Portugal and Spain in 1772 and 1773*. On page 193 of the first volume he gives his only general account of the Gypsies:—

'It may not be improper to mention the gypsies, who are very numerous throughout Spain, especially about and in Murcia, Cordova, Cadiz, and Ronda. The race of these vagabonds is found in every part of Europe: the French call them Bohemiens, the Italians Zingari, the Germans Ziegenners [*sic*], the Dutch Heydenen (pagans), the Portuguese Siganos, and the Spaniards Gitanos, in Latin Cingari. Their language, which is peculiar to themselves, is every where so similar, that they undoubtedly are all derived from the same source. They began to appear in Europe in the fifteenth century, and are probably a mixture of Egyptians and Ethiopians. The men are all thieves, and the women libertines: they follow no certain trade, and have no fixed religion: they do not enter into the order of society, wherein they are only tolerated. It is supposed that there are upwards of forty thousand of them in Spain; great numbers of whom are innkeepers in the villages and small towns: they are every where fortune-tellers. In Spain they are not allowed to possess any lands, nor even to serve as soldiers. They marry among themselves: they stroll in troops about the country, and bury their dead under a tree. Their ignorance prevents their employing themselves in any thing but in providing for the immediate wants of nature, beyond which even their roguishness does not extend, and only endeavouring to save themselves the trouble of labour: they are contented if they can procure food by shewing fates [feats] of dexterity, and only pilfer to supply themselves with the trifles they want; so that they never render themselves liable to any severer chastisement than whipping, for having stolen chickens, linen, &c. Most of the men have a smattering of physic and surgery, and are skilled in tricks performed by slight of hand. The foregoing account is partly extracted from le Voyageur Francois, vol. xvi., but the assertion that they are all so abandoned as that author says, is too general; I have lodged many times in their houses, and never missed the most trifling thing, though I have left my knives, forks, candlesticks, spoons, and linen at their mercy; and I have more than once known unsuccessful attempts made for a private interview with some of their young females, who virtuously rejected both the courtship and the money.'

Honest the Gypsy innkeepers may have been, but their hospitality seems to have left much to be desired. On May 4, 1773, Twiss and his party '... arriving at the city of Murcia, we put up at an inn kept by gypsies: the first floor, which I occupied, was little better than a hog-sty; I agreed with a French *traiteur* that he should furnish me with provisions ready dressed, as our landlord and landlady could not supply us with any thing' (vol. i. p. 241). On May 14 '... we got to Chiridel, where we passed the night on straw, in a venta kept by gypsies, "the doors and windows of which were always open, by reason of their [*sic*] being none to shut," as Taylor, the water-poet says, of a like hovel he was in when he travelled through Bohemia. Our landlady, however, very obligingly danced a fandango [*sic*] with the soldier, to the sound of a "tambour de Basque & Castanetas"' (vol. i. p. 252). On May 18 his experience was similar to that of May 4, and he notes that Gypsy inns 'are called Mesones by the Spaniards' (vol. i. p. 255, misnumbered 265). At Ronda, on June 21, he recorded, 'All the inns here are kept by gypsies' (vol. ii. p. 36).

On page 249 of the first volume Twiss mentions that the district between Lorea and Granada was infested by troops of banditti, who lived in caverns in the mountains, but he does not describe them as Gypsies; and on page 115 of the second he says: 'The whole kingdom is over-run with French knife-grinders, tinkers, and pedlars, who collect much money by exercising these mean trades, after which they return to their own country, leaving the Spanish dons weltering in their pride, laziness, and misery.'

Other statements which have a possible bearing on Gypsy lore are: (i. 168) a quotation from a 'dictionary, entitled, *Sobrino Aumentado* por F. Cormon printed at Antwerp in 1769,' describing the fandango as 'a kind of very lively dance, which the Spaniards have learned from the Indians'; (i. 231) that 'Most of the Valencians, in speaking Spanish, pronounce the *ci* like our English *th*'; and (ii. 4) that tarot cards were commonly used in good society at Granada.

### 32.—PINDARIC GYPSIES

In an article entitled 'The Conflict of Studies,' by Prof. A. W. Mair, in the *Glasgow Herald* for June 11, 1910, occurs the following interesting passage:—'Continually to the student of Greek new lights are rising; the hitherto meaninglessness is clothed with meaning, the hitherto unnoticed becomes of engrossing interest. Suppose that I see in the map the name of Falkirk. That the second part of the word is kirk=church is at once obvious. But what is Fal? Now the knowledge of Greek at once suggests *πολιός*, speckled, grey:  $\pi$  in Greek being represented in English by *f*, as *πατήρ*=father. The "speckled church" in Gaelic would be eaglais breac—which is the name of Falkirk—known to north-country men for its famous markets—in the Highlands to this present day. But more: we are at once in the presence of the King of Little Egypt—of Johnnie Fa' (i.e. Fal, as wa' = wall), and the whole significance of the name is an open book. Nay, in the glorious 4th Pythian of Pindar, is it not conceivable that the difficult phrase in line 98, *τίς ἀνθρώπων σε χαμαιγενέων πολιῆς ἐξανήκεν γαστρός*, finds here its explanation—"her gypsy womb"? Are we to infer from this that the Professor believes in the presence of Gypsies in Greece in classical times, or is he using the term 'gypsy' in a somewhat loose way?

ALEX. RUSSELL.

31st July 1912.

### 33.—TURNING GARMENTS INSIDE OUT

I was conversing with my Gypsy friend Johnny Winter, or Pierce, *alias* Smith, who travels North Lincolnshire, about people losing their way in the dense fogs which sometimes roll up over our Wolds from the North Sea, an experience which has more than once happened to myself when crossing the bleak hills intervening between my home and a neighbouring church, when Johnny exclaimed, 'I say, *rai*, do you know what my old daddy used to do, if ever he got lost? He would turn his coat inside out and put it on again, and he wasn't long before he found the right road, leastways that is what he used to tell us boys.' Reflecting upon this usage, I recalled the custom, observed in the case of Isaac Heron's burial, of enclosing in the coffin some of the deceased man's garments turned inside out. May there not be some link between the burial custom and the usage mentioned by Johnny Winter? Do the Gypsies believe that this particular custom aids the *mulo* which perchance has lost its bearings in that mysterious realm once so touchingly described by George Smith of Coalville as 'the great unknown and unseen world of *Titto paáni* (spirits) from whence no *choórulo* 'tramp' returns'?

8th August 1912.

GEORGE HALL.

<sup>1</sup> *I've been a Gipsying*, p. 197.

## 34.—GYPSY DOG-KILLERS IN THE CRIMEA

'Kertch, like all the other cities of the Crimea—in fact, we may say, like all Eastern cities—is infested with a superfluous and useless population; noisy, troublesome, and sometimes threatening the personal safety of the public. We refer once more to those abominable vagrant dogs, which would at last become masters of the town, but for the wise though cruel measures taken against them. Gipsies are at Kertch the executors of this work of carnage, and the proceedings are in this wise:—One of these honest Tsigans, invested on this occasion with the character of a public officer, and accordingly dressed up in some cast-off military coat, goes about dragging behind him the carcass of a dog clubbed to death the night before. He proceeds in this way through the different quarters of the city with a calm visage, but keeping a sharp look-out, for beneath his garment he carries a heavy bludgeon, a weapon fatal to the canine race. No sooner does the executioner show himself in a street, than a horrible yelling immediately breaks out on all sides from this republic of dogs, who recognise their destroyer, and perhaps, who knows? his victim. Immediately they rush forth from the houses, from the gardens on all sides, pursuing the imperturbable gipsy with their infuriated barking. The latter still continues his steady, leisurely progress, until the fatal instant when one of these enraged pursuers comes within reach of his bludgeon. As quick as lightning the blow comes down with murderous precision, and another Trojan is stretched by the side of the lamented Hector. In the evening, the Tsigian, after a good day's work, goes before the magistrate, and stretches out a hand stained with such or such a number of deaths. Each fractured skull brings him twenty-five copecks, or, if you will, twenty-five centimes.'—*Travels in Southern Russia, and the Crimea; through Hungary, Wallachia, & Moldavia, during the Year 1837.* By M. Anatole De Demidoff. London, 1853, vol. ii. pp. 215-6.

ALEX. RUSSELL.

15th August 1912.

## 35.—CLASSIFICATION AND NUMBERS OF WALLACHIAN GYPSIES IN 1837

'However the case may be, this exiled people are enabled to subsist in Wallachia more readily than in any other country, as it presents them the means of reconciling their natural indolence with the conditions necessary to ensure them the protection of the law. A portion of the Tsigian population live by labour; to these is assigned the task of washing the auriferous sands borne down by the current of certain rivers, and it is with the produce of their patient toil at this employment, that they are enabled to pay the poll-tax. In the second class are found masons, blacksmiths, cooks, and locksmiths; occupations which the Wallachian population disdain to follow, but the greater portion are consigned to servitude, and swell with their useless and mischievous numbers, the household of the Boyards. Lastly, the third class of this people, without a name, from having received so many, live in a state of vagabondage and mendicancy. Half-clad, and exposed to the inclemency of the seasons, men and women encamp in the open air with a troop of hideous children, in whom it would be difficult to anticipate the handsome youths of both sexes, whom we see so graceful in form, and with so proud a deportment as soon as their precocious maturity is developed.' . . .

'An article in the organic law of the principality ordains, however, that a fund shall be established for redeeming the Tsigans from vagrancy, and obliging them to build houses and dwell in them. This measure is beginning to be put in force.' . . .

'Gipsies, servants of private individuals, 14,158. Gipsies belonging to the state (gold-gatherers), 5,635.'—De Demidoff's *Travels in Southern Russia, and the Crimea; through Hungary, Wallachia, & Moldavia, during the Year 1837.* London, 1853, vol. i. pp. 207-9.

ALEX. RUSSELL.



## 36.—GYPSY MUSICIANS IN HUNGARY

'It would be ungrateful, while lauding the music, were we to keep silence as to those who made it. The Füred band was really a very good one, and it surprised us not a little to hear that it was composed entirely of gipsies; yes, that same thieving, lying, music-loving race, of whom we so often see a stray member in our own villages scraping a jig on a three-stringed fiddle, is found here too, and busy in the same idleness. But instead of strumming at village wakes with country bumpkins for their auditors, we found them here in stately festivals, ministering to the pleasures of the nobles of the land; and instead of a crazy fiddle, a well-conditioned orchestra might have been formed out of the gipsy band.

'The leader was not the least remarkable of the party, for, though not more than fourteen years of age, he was a most accomplished violinist. He had studied for some months under Strauss in Vienna, and had received high commendations from his master; but what Strauss certainly had not intended to teach, though it was no slight element of his pupil's success, was a most perfect imitation of those extraordinary movements by which the body of the great waltz-player seems convulsed during his performance, and which our little Czigány took off so admirably as to keep his audience in a roar of laughter. I have seen the gipsies—Czigány, as the Hungarians called them—as actors also, and they are not very much worse than the generality of strolling players in other lands.'—*Hungary and Transylvania*. By John Paget. London, MDCCCXXXIX, vol. i. pp. 274-5.

'At one of the first dinner parties to which we were invited, the attendance of the gipsy band was ordered, that we might hear some of the Hungarian music in its most original form. The crash of sound which burst upon us, as we entered the dining-room, was almost startling; for be they where they may, gipsy musicians make it a point to spare neither their lungs nor arms, in the service of their patrons. This band was one of the best in the country, and consisted of not less than twenty or thirty members, all of whom were dressed in smart hussar uniforms, and really looked very well. Few of them, if any, knew notes, yet they executed many very difficult pieces of music with considerable accuracy. The favourite popular tune the Rákóczy—the Magyar "Scots wha hae"—was given with great force. I am more than ever convinced that none but a gipsy band can do it full justice. The effect of the melancholy plaintive sounds with which it begins, increased by the fine discords which the gipsies introduce, and of the wild burst of passion which closes it, must depend as much on the manner of its execution as on the mere composition. It is startling to the stranger, on arriving at Klausenburg, that no sooner is he lodged in his inn, than he receives a visit from this gipsy band, who salute him with their choicest music to do honour to his coming; and it is sometimes a little annoying to find that he cannot get rid of them without paying them most handsomely for their compliment.'—*Ibid.*, vol. ii. pp. 478-9.

ALEX. RUSSELL.

## 37.—HUNGARIAN GYPSIES IN 1793

'He [the Governor of Bude] receives no *zequiners* (gipsies) into his regiment; a most wise regulation. No doubt it was not the bad example which they might give, which alone induced him to exclude these vagabonds; but he wished to keep alive, in his regiment, a principle of honour, by considering his men as above being associated with thieves and vagrants; which is the common character of the *zequiners*.'—*Travels in Hungary, with a Short Account of Vienna in the Year 1793*. By Robert Townson, LL.D. London, 1797, p. 77.

'Pastor Benedict is well acquainted with the language of the gypsies, or, as they are called in Hungary, Ziguiners; he assured me that when he was in England,

he conversed with some English gypsies who understood him very well.—*Ibid.*, p. 248.

‘By the road-side [between Debretzin and Tokay] I found a large party of zigeuners. How admirably they are portrayed by Cowper in these lines :

I see a column of slow-rising smoke  
[13 lines quoted].

‘Hungary may be considered as the seat of this people. They are here very numerous, and lead the same vagabond life they do in other countries. Several of the later Hungarian sovereigns have endeavoured to render them sedentary, but with not much success ; they still stroll about the country as tinkers and musicians, but are not seen in such hordes as formerly. It is but a few years ago (I think under Joseph II.) that about a score of them were condemned and executed in the Great Hontor county for being—*Anthropophagists* ; but, when it was too late, it was suspected that their Judges had been too hasty in their condemnation. They were not seen in Hungary before 1418. What their numbers are I could never learn ; but when the neighbouring country of the Buccovine was lately ceded to Austria, of seventy thousand inhabitants, *one thousand were gipsies.*’—*Ibid.*, pp. 258-60.

ALEX. RUSSELL.

### 38.—HUNGARIAN GYPSIES IN 1839

‘In the course of our ride, in a small valley a little off the road, the Baron showed me a colony of gypsies,—permanent, as he said, in contradistinction to others who are always erratic,—who occupy a little land, and do him some work for it. The reader may have remarked that I do not hesitate here, as well as in other parts of this Work, to speak of the *Czigány* of the Hungarians by the English name of gypsies, for it is impossible to doubt their identity. There is the same dark eye and curling black hair, the same olive complexion and small active form. Then their occupations and manner of life, different as are the countries and climates they inhabit, still remain the same ; fiddling, fortune-telling, horse-dealing, and tinkering, are their favourite employments,—a vagabond life their greatest joy. Though speaking several tongues, they have all a peculiar language of their own, quite distinct from any other known in Europe. Here, as with us, they have generally a king too, whom they honour and respect, but I have not been able to make out what establishes a right to the gipsy crown. I believe superior wealth, personal cunning, as well as hereditary right, have some influence on their choice.

‘They first made their appearance in this country from the East, about the year 1423, when King Sigmund granted them permission to settle.<sup>1</sup> Joseph the Second tried to turn them to some account, and passed laws which he hoped would force them to give up their wandering life and betake themselves to agriculture. The landlords were obliged to make them small grants of land, and to allow them to build houses at the end of their villages. I have often passed through these *Czigány város*, gipsy towns, and it is impossible to imagine a more savage scene. Children of both sexes, to the age of fourteen, are seen rolling about with a mere shred of covering, and their elders with much less than the most unfastidious decency requires. Filth obstructs the passage into every hut. As the stranger approaches, crowds of black urchins flock round him, and rather demand than beg for charity. The

<sup>1</sup> ‘In Hungarian law they are called “new peasants.” The name of *Pharaoh mepek*, Pharaoh’s people, I imagine has been given either from contempt, or error. The name *Czigány*, by which the Hungarians call them, is so like the Zingari, Zigeuner, Gitani, Gipsy, of other nations, that I have no doubt it is the one they originally gave themselves.’

screams of men and women, and the barking of dogs—for the whole tribe seems to be in a state of constant warfare—never cease from morning to night. It is rare, however, that when thus settled, they can remain the whole year stationary; they generally disappear during a part of the summer, and only return when winter obliges them to seek a shelter. Others wander about as they do with us, gaining a livelihood, as accident throws it in their way. They are said to amount to sixty two thousand three hundred and fifteen in Transylvania.<sup>1</sup> The Austrian Government, I believe, is the only one in Europe which has been known to derive any advantage from its gipsies, but by means of the tax for gold-washing, to which we shall allude hereafter, it must derive a considerable revenue from this people. They are often taken for soldiers, and are said to make pretty good ones. Most of them are christened and profess some religion, which is always the seigneur's—not the peasants'—of the village to which they belong. In fact the gipsies have a most profound respect for aristocracy, and they are said to be the best genealogists in the country.

'Their skill in horse-shoeing—they are the only blacksmiths in the country—and in brickmaking, renders them of considerable value to the landlord. What is the exact state of the law with respect to them, I know not; but I believe they are absolute serfs in Transylvania. I know the settled gipsies cannot legally take permanent service out of the place they were born in, without permission, or without the payment of a certain sum of money.'<sup>2</sup>

'They are just as great beggars here as elsewhere, and just as witty in their modes of begging. A large party of them presented themselves one day at the door of the Countess W—, whom they used to call the mother of the gipsies, from her frequent charities to them, with a most piteous complaint of cold and hunger—all the children, as usual, naked; when the chief pulling a sad face, begged hard for relief; "for he was a poor man," he said, "and it cost him a great deal to clothe so large a family."

'Of the most simple moral laws they seem to be entirely ignorant. It is not rare to see them employed as servants in offices considered below the peasant to perform. They never dream of eating with the rest of the household, but receive a morsel in their hands, and devour it where they can. Their dwellings are the merest huts, often without a single article of furniture. Having such difficulty in supporting themselves, as is manifested in their wasted forms, one cannot help wondering how they can maintain the pack of curs which always infest their settlements, and often render it dangerous to approach them. By the rest of the peasantry they are held in most sovereign contempt. As I was travelling along the road one day, after my return from Turkey, my servant turned round as we met a camp of gipsies, and exclaimed, "After all, sir, our negroes are not so ugly as those in Turkey."—John Paget's *Hungary and Transylvania*. London, MDCCXXXIX, vol. ii. pp. 324-7.

ALEX. RUSSELL.

### 39—ROUMANIAN GYPSIES

Chapter vi. of J. W. Ozanne's *Three Years in Roumania*, London, 1878, is entitled 'The Gipsy Race.' I quote the most interesting part of it:—

'The number of bands of *laoutari*, or minstrels, which they formed, would defy any attempt at computation. Every café or beer garden possessed one of these *troupes*, according to the season, and admirably soothing was their music, when the ear became accustomed to their peculiar style of melody. The *laoutari* are indeed

<sup>1</sup> 'This enumeration is taken from a very imperfect statistical work, on Transylvania by Lebrecht, and is, I suspect, exaggerated.'

<sup>2</sup> 'In Wallachia, when I was there, they were sold as slaves in the open market. I believe this law has been since abolished.'

wonderfully gifted in this respect. Without any previous study, without any acquaintance with the theory or principles of their art, they handle their instruments with a skill which seems implanted in them by Nature herself. Their tunes are of the most weird description, and are heard again and again with ever-increasing pleasure. More wonderful still to relate, after listening for the first time to an air, and without understanding a single note, they are able to reproduce it, in its most complicated form, with the strictest exactness, and with exquisite taste and expression. No one who has not visited this country could believe to what a pitch this native talent can be brought. The *laoutari* also perform at balls, and, oddly enough, at funerals as well. Their favourite instruments are the violin, *shah-aldja*, or king of instruments; the *kobza*, a kind of mandoline; and the *nei*, or panpipe, which they have brought from Persia. In Clausenburg, one of the towns of Transylvania, the Tzigans have formed a company, and, wandering from place to place, return after a certain time to head-quarters, where they divide their gains, which often amount to a considerable sum.

Formerly serfs, the Gipsies are now free men. They are cooks, blacksmiths, builders, and makers of bricks. Although some of them have settled down to the cultivation of the soil, the majority prefer a wandering mode of life, and alternately steal and beg. In the country they often dwell in tents, or in some hovel hastily contrived. There they are to be seen, *pêle-mêle*, men, women, children, pigs, and dogs. Idle to a degree, they are always studying how to exist without performing their daily round of work. Humour them, and they are easily led. Treat them, however, as your fellowmen and fellow-citizens, and you will make nothing of them. Such is their character. Moreover, so improvident are their habits, that all their employers are obliged to pay them back in food, for all the money received at the end of the week is spent at the wine-shop on the Sunday, and nothing remains but starvation until the arrival of the following Saturday.

Besides these, there are a few Turkish Tzigans, called *Turciti*. They are Mahomedans from the other side of the Danube, and perform the functions of tinkers, or menders of kettles and pots. They speak the Gipsy language mingled with the Turkish tongue. In their leisure time they devote their attention to the rearing of buffaloes, the milk of which is their principal sustenance during the winter months.

There are two distinct types of Gipsies in Roumania. One set have crisp hair and thick lips, with a very dark complexion. The others have a fine profile, regular features, good hair, and an olive complexion, all characteristic of the Indo-Caucasian race. The former are the descendants of the old emigrants, about whose origin so many different theories have been advanced. The latter are descended from the refugees of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, who left India at the time of the great Mogul invasions under Genghis Khan and Tamerlane. It has been remarked that while one race is easily to be taught and brought to a right comprehension of the advantages of civilization, the other delights in ignorance, and cannot be improved at any price. It is related that Joseph II. attempted the education of this obstinate tribe amid the mountains of Transylvania. The families were placed on various lordly domains and forbidden to quit them. But the inhabitants were at last compelled to get rid of them all. Houses were built for them; they drove their cows in and pitched their tents alongside. And the children who were apprenticed among the villagers, seized the first opportunity to take themselves off, and soon rejoined their parents.

Among the Tzigans of Indian origin many men are to be found who are well versed in oriental traditions. The old people explain with wonderful sagacity, by astronomical phenomena, all the various religions. Even the little children catch the inspiration, and come out with most poetical allusions. A traveller relates that, as he was proceeding one day along the road leading from Shumla to Rasgrad, the little ones who walked in front, seeing the sun rising in the east, exclaimed,

"*Io p̄nuel*, There is Pan." "*Jese de sobo Krin*, He is leaving his couch," said one ; "*Urgaha*, He is climbing the heavens," cried another. And he showed the traveller the moon, whose white disc was fast disappearing in the west, amid the blue of the sky, and continued, "*Iak ebhu dades*, The eye of the earth grows pale."

'According to the Tzigans, all religion is based on the harmony of astronomical phenomena ; and Brahminism, Judaism, and Christianity are but forms of the religion whose cosmogonic mysteries have been revealed to them by their ancestors. The sky is a vast sea of darkness, from which light emanates, and to which it returns. God is the *ix*, or the invisible axis, around which eternity revolves. The sidereal zone, which we term the zodiac, is the *stole*, or starry robe which God puts on in the east when Pan sets in the west. It is from this robe, the *apo-stole*, that have proceeded all the grand voices which have made themselves heard throughout all ages in this world of ours. The four points of the solstices and the equinoxes are the four principal heavenly messengers. The four seasons or times determined by these points, are the four great voices or oracles of God, His four great prophets or evangelists. The twelve months, which complete these four great times, are the twelve little books of God ; the twelve oxen or bulls of the night and the day, who sustain the ocean of the seasons and the brazen wall of Solomon's Temple ; the twelve tables of the laws of Moses and Romulus, in which are inscribed the Ten Commandments of *Bud-dha*, or Moses ; the twelve sons of Jacob, rocks of Israel at Sinai and the Jordan ; and the twelve apostles of Jesus, rocks of Christ at the Jordan and at Golgotha itself.<sup>1</sup> Whatever the estimate which we may form of the value of these traditions, it cannot be denied that they testify to habits of meditation very different from those of the masters who so long bought and sold them in the open market.

'The first laws in Roumania relative to the Tzigans of which mention is made go back as far as the reigns of Rudolph iv. and Stephen the Great, who made one-fifth of them state property. Other princes afterwards gave up the remaining four-fifths to the boyards and the monasteries. The Tzigans are divided into three classes or tribes. First come the *Laiesi*, who follow a multitude of trades. To this class the *luoutari* belong. Next we have the *Vatrari*, or servants, who are employed in the great houses. The third division is that of the *Netolsi* or atheists, the probable descendants of the emigrants of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These are the most savage and wild of all the Gipsy race. Half-naked, and living only by theft and plunder, they feed on the flesh of cats and dogs, sleep on the bare ground or in some ruin or barn, and possess absolutely no property of any kind. They have a strong resemblance to the negro physiognomy and character. Each of these tribes elects its judge and supreme head, who is called *Bul-basha*. The election is made in the open country. The judge and the *Bul-basha* formerly wore the full beard, a sign of nobility, always rode on horseback, and were clad in a long red mantle, coloured boots, and the Phrygian cap.

'The Tzigans are, as I have said, now free, and able to settle or roam where they please. Their condition is improving every day ; but the Roumans naturally look down upon even the best of them. Gradual intermarriages with the native population may, however, finally place the more steady-going among them in the position to which they aspire.'

ALEX. RUSSELL.

#### 40.—THE GYPSY AT KLAUSENBURG

'Immediately outside the town rises a little hill, which, viewed from the end of the street, presents the very strangest appearance. It is full of dwellings

<sup>1</sup> Compare the quotation from Vaillant's *Les Romes, J. G. L. S.* NEW SERIES, vol. ii. p. 32.—A. R.

partly burrowed in the earth, with a door-post in front and a lintel, and a small window at the side; or on a bit of rocky ground, like a shelf, a hut is raised, and, as you come downwards from above, it is well to take care you do not step on the roof or enter the dwelling by the chimney. The drawing, though taken from a photograph made on purpose, does not give the strange fantastic air of the reality. As I wandered about on the slippery paths, the whole place grew alive with human beings emerging from scarce-seen doors, like rabbits from their burrows.

This was a favourite resort of Borrow, when in Klausenburg. He used daily to pay his friends the gipsies a visit, for which attention they, as it would seem, mulcted him regularly of his silk pocket-handkerchiefs. "This is my last," he said one day to an acquaintance of mine, on starting for his accustomed walk, "they have had all the rest."

'As I drove along the road, one of the children followed me a great distance, keeping up with my waggon, and performing all sorts of evolutions.

'Borrow has a crotchet in his head about the continence of gipsy women. This notion seems to be a hobby of his, and he therefore maintains it, though notoriously inaccurate.'—*Transylvania; Its Products and its People*. By Charles Boner. London, 1865, p. 439.

Pages 348-53 of this book contain a very interesting account of the Gypsies, too long to quote.

ALEX. RUSSELL.

#### 41.—GYPSY BEGGARS

James Samuelson's *Bulgaria Past and Present*, London, 1888, contains only two meagre references to Gypsies (pp. 19 and 185); both are complaints as to their begging propensities.

ALEX. RUSSELL.

#### 42.—TURKISH GYPSIES AND THE EVIL EYE

'A gypsy minstrel, a thing of shreds and patches, on his way to a wedding feast, protested that the Evil Eye would be upon him if I took his likeness, but I "snapped" him while he argued.'—*The Balkan Trail*. By Frederick Moore. London, 1906, p. 168.

'Between meals the unknown (an American tourist) prowled the town carrying a small black box with a covered eye, which flapped at every native she met. Tziganes fled madly down the roads. . . .'—*Ibid.*, p. 192.

W. A. DUTT.

#### 43.—GYPSIES IN TURKEY

'There is a Tsigane quarter in every large town in Turkey, and it generally stands somewhere near the circle of graveyards. It is always the most squalid quarter, holes in old walls, shanties made of flattened petroleum tins, caves in hillsides, serving the gypsies as abodes. They are a filthy people, and a burden to the community. They seldom till the soil, object to work, and live for the most part by begging or stealing. They stand alone in the world as a people without a religion, and their primitive instincts lead them to follow the natural bent of man to prey upon others. They came into Europe on the heels of the Turk, and remained in some of the countries from which he has been compelled to recede. In one of the Balkan states they are exempt from military service, as they cannot be held to routine; in the others they are generally assigned to duty in the bands because of their talent for music.'—*The Balkan Trail*. By Frederick Moore. London, 1906, pp. 197, 198.

W. A. DUTT.

## 44.—GYPSY BAPTISMS

Through the kindness of the Rev. F. P. Gilbert, Rector of South Wootton, near King's Lynn, Norfolk, I have received the following interesting extract from the Baptismal Register of his parish :—

'1831, Oct. 2. Erosabella, dr. of John and Ruth Killthorpe, Itinerant Gypsies.  
 " " " Curlinda, dr. of Chas. and Mary Lee, Itinerant Gypsies.'

In regard to the first of these entries, a clergyman dull of hearing may easily have mis-heard the surname ; or, the Gypsies may have given an alias, a thing not at all rare, as those who search many registers know well. Erosabella is without a doubt the 'Bella' who appears on the Chilcot pedigree as a daughter of John Chilcot and Ruth Liti Lovell ; whilst Curlinda in the second entry can be no other than Kêrlenda, daughter of Charlie Lee and Union Chilcot, who became the wife of George (Lazzy) Petulengro. The substitution of Mary for Union is on a par with an existing Anglo-Romani usage by which Ênos becomes Amos ; Fêmi, Amy ; and Poley, George,—to the postman and *gâjé* generally. Touching the use of their peculiar 'fore' or Christian names, in the presence of *gâjé*, many *Romaniçêls* are extremely sensitive.

GEORGE HALL.

29th August 1912.

## 45.—THE 'NOXANO BARO' IN INDIA

In Mr. Thurston's *Omens and Superstitions of Southern India* (= 'the Madras Presidency and the Native States of Travancore and Cochin'), pp. 267-8, occurs the following passage :—

'Two men were, some years ago, sentenced to rigorous imprisonment under the following circumstances. A lady, who was suffering from illness, asked a man who claimed to be a magician to cure her. He came with his confederate, and told the patient to place nine sovereigns on a clay image. This sum not being forthcoming, a few rupees and a piece of a gold necklace were accepted. These were deposited on the image, and it was placed in a tin box, which was locked up, one of the men retaining the key. On the following day the two men returned, and the rupees and piece of gold were placed on a fresh image. Becoming inspired by the god, one of the men announced that the patient must give a gold bangle off her wrist, if she wished to be cured quickly. The bangle was given up, and placed on the image, which was then converted into a ball containing the various articles within it. The patient was then directed to look at various corners of the room, and repeat a formula. The image was placed in a box, and locked up as before, and the men retired, promising to return next day. This they failed to do, and the lady, becoming suspicious, broke open the box, in which the image was found, but the money and ornaments were missing.'

M. EILEEN LYSER.

## 46.—JOHN GALT AND THE GYPSIES

Neither in the Old Series of the *J. G. L. S.* nor in Groome's list of the English Romany Ryes in his Introduction to *Lavengro* (1901), is mention made of John Galt. Though he uses no Romani words and, indeed, speaks of the language as a jargon, the Gypsy scenes in *Sir Andrew Wyllie* seem to be based on some actual knowledge of the race, and show great sympathy with it. In chapter xlv. the hero falls in with a Gypsy band, and in the next enjoys their hospitality. Later on he succeeds in establishing the innocence of the father and son, who are accused of murder, and the Gypsies show their gratitude by assisting his candidature when

he stands for Parliament! The chapters in which the Gypsies appear are xlv., xlvi., xlviii., xlix., l., lii., liii., liv., lv., lxii., lxxiii.

ALEX. RUSSELL.

11th Oct. 1912.

#### 47.—ZYGAINER FORTUNE-TELLERS IN 1455

'There is a folk strolleth about much in the world, named *Zygainer*: this people, both man and wife, young and old, do greatly practise the art [Pyromancia] and mislead many of the simple.'

The above passage is quoted by Jacob Grimm from the *Book of all Forbidden Arts, Unbelief, and Sorcery*, by Dr. Hartlieb, Physician-in-Ordinary to Duke Albrecht of Bavaria; written in 1455 for Johann, Markgraf of Brandenburg. See Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, English translation by Stallybrass, vol. iv., London, 1888, p. 1775.

DAVID MACRITCHIE.

#### 48.—GYPSY DEPREDACTIONS IN 1819

I was looking through a local magazine—*The Fireside Magazine; or Monthly Entertainer: for the Year 1819*, vol. i., Stamford, 1819—of a type now extinct for matters in no way related to the affairs of Egypt, when I came across this long letter (pp. 84-7). It seems worth preserving in some corner of the Gypsy Lore Society's *Journal*.

SIR,—I occupy thirty acres of grazing land in one of the midland counties. I breed a few sheep, which I dispose of in proper seasons to the best advantage: my wife takes weekly to the next market-town the produce of 3 cows, with some eggs and occasionally poultry; and thus, with care and industry, in spite of the tax-gatherer, we have been enabled hitherto to do something more than make both ends meet. I paid but last year five pounds to the mantua-maker of our village, to instruct my daughter Susan (for my wife says she is too tender to earn a living by hard work, and besides she is as tasty as our squire's lady herself) in the whole art and mystery of female decoration; and I have also just bought for my son Roger, a fine strapping lad of 15, new clothes from "head to foot," from "top to toe," (as the actor-man said in the rector's tithe-barn last winter,) and he is going at Lady-day as servant-man to my worthy neighbour Meanwell.

'But, Mr. Editor, I must at last be sent, and my poor wife with me, to the parish workhouse, unless a stop is promptly put to the depredations of a set of marauders, female as well as male, called *gipsies*, who have recently settled, I might say, in one of the bye-ways near my cottage. My flock, I am proud to tell you, have been, for many years, the fattest in these parts, and I have never lost a sheep by the rot, by drowning, or by any other casualty. Within the last half-year, however, two of my finest ewes, and a *cade*, "tender as a chicken," which my wife for months fed with her own hand with milk and reared with more care than many mothers do their children, have been *stolen* from me, and I have "proof positive" that some among the aforesaid gipsies are the thieves. Thus, sir, what was before a blessing to me, has become a curse; my sheep, which are superior to all others in the neighbourhood, offer the best booty to the rogues by whom we are beset, whilst the less tempting flocks of the larger farmers near me, remain untouched. To be sure, their fences are broken and their hedges are torn up for fuel, wherewith to cook my mutton; but their losses are trifling, though certainly vexatious,—mine are ruinous.

'Thus situated, how am I to act? To prosecute the thieves, would be certain ruin to me; and if I were even able to surmount the expenses which I must inevitably incur, I should bring down upon my head the vengeance of the whole gang, who would not fail (besides, perhaps, redoubling their robberies) to do me



some serious bodily injury, and probably set fire to my cottage in the dead of the night, whilst my wife and I were soundly slumbering, unconscious of the danger that surrounded us. If I do not prosecute the offenders, their depredations will not cease, I fear, till I have no stock left, and I must, in that case, be ruined. It was but yesterday morning I could observe, by certain feet-marks, that an attempt had been made to drive one of my cows out of the home-close, with the intention, no doubt, of taking her to the first stock fair for sale.

'I have consulted with my neighbours as to the best course to pursue, and they have (with the exception of Mr. Pettifog the lawyer) advised me "of two evils to chuse the least;" for that prosecution will unquestionably involve me in ruinous expenses, and perhaps inflame a set of desperadoes to such a pitch that nothing but the murder of me will pacify them; while, to bear the evil patiently, to "grin and abide by it," affords the *chance*, that, from the wandering habits of the vagabonds, they *may*, before I have quite lost all, quit this neighbourhood, only to commit the like enormities in some more distant district.

'I am very little of a politician, Mr. Editor; but I know that much has been written, and much more spoken, upon the blessings enjoyed by the inhabitants of a *free* country,—of a country in which "political and civil liberty is the very end and scope of the constitution." I value these blessings as highly as almost any man; but I cannot help thinking that I am a sufferer, and not the only sufferer, by what I must denominate the *overflowings* of liberty; and I am not yet of opinion, in spite of what our parson says almost every Sunday, that the English laws are the most perfect in the world, while a wandering houseless horde have it in their power to ruin any honest shepherd whose sleek flock may offer the temptation. If you, or any of your correspondents, can devise a remedy, pray do; and I hereby promise the discoverer, for his pains, a bowl of the choicest cream in the dairy of

'ZEKIEL HOMESPUN.

'Northamptonshire, Feb. 10, 1819.

'P.S. Since writing the foregoing, I have heard, with joy mingled with fear, that a couple of gipsies have just been convicted of horse-stealing at Peterborough and condemned, but that their sentence has been commuted for transportation for life.<sup>1</sup> Thus, thank God, there will be two less in the country. Would I could say two thousand. That there are and have been laws to restrain gipsies, I have the authority of a *judge* for asserting; but some fresh legislative measure, suited to the present circumstances of the country, ought instantly to be adopted. If it will at all gratify your readers, you may print the following extract from Judge Blackstone's work, which which [*sic*] was lent me by our justice.

'Outlandish persons calling themselves *Egyptians* or *gypsies*, are another object of the severity of some of our unrepealed statutes. These are a strange kind of commonwealth among themselves of wandering impostors and jugglers, who were first taken notice of in Germany about the beginning of the fifteenth century: and have since spread themselves all over Europe. Munster, who is followed and relied upon by Spelman and other writers, fixes the time of their first appearance to the year 1417; under passports, real or pretended, from the emperor Sigismund, king of Hungary. And pope Pius II. (who died *A.D.* 1464) mentions them in his history as thieves and vagabonds, then wandering with their families over Europe, under the name of Zagari; and whom he supposes to have migrated from the country of the Zigi, which nearly answers to the modern Circassia. In the compass of a few years they gained such a number of idle proselytes, (who imitated their language and complexion, and betook themselves to the same arts of chiromancy, begging, and pilfering,) that they became troublesome and even formidable to most of the states of Europe. Hence they were expelled from France in the year 1560, and from

<sup>1</sup> Newcomb Boss and George Young. *Transportation Records*, H.O. 11. 2 — E. O. W.

Spain in 1591. And the government in England took the alarm much earlier; for in 1530, they are described by statute 22 Hen. VIII. c. 10. as "outlandish people, calling themselves Egyptians, using no craft or seat of merchandise, who have come into this realm and gone from shire to shire and place to place in great company, and used great, subtil, and crafty means to deceive the people; bearing them in hand, that they by palmestry could tell men's and women's fortunes; and so many times by craft and subtilty have deceived the people of their money, and also have committed many heinous felonies and robberies." Wherefore they are directed to avoid the realm, and not to return under pain of imprisonment, and forfeiture of their goods and chattels: and, upon their trials for any felony which they may have committed, they shall not be entitled to a jury *de medietate lingue*. And afterwards, it is enacted by statutes 1 & 2 Ph. & M. c. 4. and 5 Eliz. c. 20. that if any such persons shall be imported into this kingdom, the importer shall forfeit £40. And if the Egyptians themselves remain one month in this kingdom; or if any person being 14 years old, (whether natural-born subject or stranger,) which hath been seen or found in the fellowship of such Egyptians, or which hath disguised him or herself like them, shall remain in the same one month, at one or several times, it is felony without benefit of clergy; and Sir Matthew Hale informs us, that at one Suffolk assizes no less than thirteen gipsies were executed upon these statutes a few years before the restoration. But, to the honour of our national humanity, there are no instances more modern than this, of carrying these laws into practice.'

The picture of the poor farmer persecuted by the wandering folk is striking, though possibly overdrawn.

WILLIAM E. A. AXON.

#### 49.—TALISMANS

The other day Madaline Smith came to see me. She *dukered* my maid, and afterwards I teased her about her wonderful powers!

'You always *sal* at me, *Râni*, because I don't *duker* myself all the *koras* I want. Do you know, I never go out without carrying things on me for good luck? Never!'

'Have you got them with you now?' I asked.

'*Oweli*. You'll *sal* when you *dik* them.'

She brought out her purse, opened it, and took out a shrivelled piece of skin and a small piece of something unrecognisable.

'That's a piece of snake's skin,' she explained. 'I have had it such a long time it's nearly all wasted away; and that's the end of a bullock's tongue. I wouldn't go anywhere without my charms,' she added.

Before she left me I plucked her some thyme and rosemary, and told her it was *very* lucky to grow rosemary. 'Shall I tell you what luck it will bring you?' I asked.

'*Oweli*,' she said eagerly, smelling it as she spoke.

'It is said to bring babies,' I said.

'*Dordi! Râni!* Take it back. Do! I won't have it.'

'Oh, you must; it is so sweet. And you need not grow it,' I said laughing.

'I'm *atrashed* of it, *Râni*. You *jin* I have got six now. I wouldn't spare one of them, but I don't want no more.'

'You *must* put up with another if it comes,' I protested.

'It will be all your doing, and I'll bring it round to you; I swear I will. You'll have to buy its first frock and *koras*. Now, you *jin*.'

She went away laughing and smelling her rosemary.

BEATRICE M. DUTT.

18th November 1912.



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A GRAMMAR AND VOCABULARY OF THE LANGUAGE  
OF THE NAWAR OR ZUTT, THE NOMAD SMITHS  
OF PALESTINE.

By R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A.

(Continued from Vol. V. p. 305)

## VOCABULARY

THE extent to which Arabic can be drawn upon to supply deficiencies in the Nuri vocabulary is practically unlimited, and it is therefore necessary to exercise a selection. Those words given here of Arabic origin are confined to (1) words used in the series of stories; (2) a few indispensable words adopted without alteration; (3) words which, though evidently Arabic, have been modified or disguised in adopting them into Nuri. Arabic words are denoted in the vocabulary by (Ar.): this indication of course applies only to the *first* element of words compounded with *k'ôr* and *hócer*.

The alphabetic order followed is as stated in § 1 of the *Grammar*, neglecting the diacritic marks of vowel-length:—

a b c d d e f g g h h h i j k k l m n o p r s s t t t u v y z z'.

## A

1. *āb-*. The syllable to which are affixed the pronominal suffixes of the 2nd and 3rd person sing. and plur. in the directive case. See *Grammar*, § 60. *ābšškékā* (xxxviii. 3) is a mistake, induced by the common suffix *-kāki*, which see.
2. *ābā* (Ar.). Address of endearment between near relations and intimates.
3. *ābū Hāsān* (Ar.). A nickname for the fox.
4. *Ādām*, n.p., 'Adam.' Abl. *Ādāmāski*, lviii. 2.
5. *ag*, subst. neut. 'fire.' With indef. art. *āgik*. See *Grammar*, § 46. Also means 'matches.' *āštā ag wāšīm*, 'I have matches.'
6. *āger*, prep., 'before.' Governs abl., as *āger kūrīāki*, xlviii. 6. Very often follows the noun, in which case it is enclitic, as in *kuriēsān-āger*, xxxix. 7: *pārdā kēsās pānjī min sāvīēs-āger u kārōsis*, 'he took the food from before his master and ate it.' Compounds with pronom. suffixes, as *āgrēr*, 'before thee,' i. 8: an alternative form is *āgrīri*. Used as adverb with verbs of motion 'forwards,' as *rāure āger*, lxv. 4.
7. *āgi*, by-form of *ag*, which see. Also means 'hell.' Accus. *āgi*, xiv. 18.
8. *āhāk*, demonstr. adj., 'that': *āhāk kam*, xix. 8. When doubled, as *āhāk u āhāk*, xii. 3, it means 'this one and that.' Also commonly demonstrative adverb, 'thus, in this manner' (as x. 15).
9. *āhāli*, adj. derived from *āhl*, which see: 'pertaining to a family.'
10. *āhāli-kēli*, 'a tent-cloth.' Compound of *āhāli* and *kēli*, which see.
11. *āhl* (Ar.), 'a tribe, family' (dissyllable). Various forms with pronom. suffixes are *āhlōm* (v. 5), *āhlōmkā* (v. 5), *āhlus* (ix. 4), *āhlīstā* (xxvii. 9), *āhlōsān* (xliii. 4), *āhlisintā* (i. 12).
12. *āhlān wā-sāhlān* (Ar.). The common Arabic formula of welcome, meaning something like 'hearth and home [are yours].'
13. *āhrēn*, metathesis for *erhēnā*, which see. 'Hither,' xxxv. 11.
14. *āhāh*, demonstrative adj., 'that, there, yonder.' See *āhāk*.

15. *ahsān* (Ar.). Comparative degree of Arabic adj. *ḥāsān*: 'better.'
16. *āḥār*, prep., 'under.' Constructed like *āger*, which see. Prefixed, as *āḥār sūlūski*, xi. 12, *min āḥār wātūski*, 'from under the rock'; *āḥār šāžārik*, xiv. 7. Postfixed (less commonly than *āger*) as *bītās āḥār*, 'under the earth.' With pronom. suffixes, *āḥāres*, lix. 15; *āḥāris*, lxiv. 5; *āḥārēmān*, xx. 2. In the last the shortening of the vowel is due to the shift of accent. As adverb after verbs of motion, 'downwards': *gārā āḥār*, xxxviii. 6; *ḥūllōm āḥār uyārtā*, 'I went down to the city,' x. 1.
17. *āḥer* (Ar.), 'end.'
18. *āisā*, sometimes '*āisā* (perhaps Ar. *issā*, 'now'). Indef. adverb of time at beginning of a narration: 'now, once upon a time.'
19. *āiwāih* (Ar.), 'yes.'
20. *ājīb*, 'tongue': properly *jīb*, which see.
21. *ājōti*, adverb of time, 'to-day.' In liv. 4 used of a day in the past, a sort of historic present. Also in the general sense of 'now': *āiwāih kan bōli wāšis zerd*, *ājōti bizōtā-lerā*, 'once he had so much money, now he has become poor.'
22. *āktār* (Ar.), 'more, greater.' Comparative degrees of Ar. adj. *kāṭir*, 'much.' Borrowed in Nuri to express the comparative degree of adjectives. See *Grammar*, § 52. *kāṭe bīrēndi āktār mnēšmān*, *bīnāurde snōtās*, 'the thieves were more frightened than we were, (but) they scared the dog.'
23. *ākudrā* (Ar. *akūt*, 'curdled milk'). See footnote to Ex. xcvii.
24. *ālātīlyā*, 'a festival.' *lāmā bēsāui-nā-kérān nānūn tillā ālātīlyā*, *u āiwāndi giš Dōme*, 'when we marry we hold a great festival, and all the Nawar come.'
25. *āmā*, pers. pron., 'I.' See *Grammar*, § 60.
26. *āmān*, a 'bucket' of hide, for drawing water.
27. *āmānā* (Ar.), 'confidence.' *nī 'būškārā belyismā āmānā*, 'he has no confidence in his friend.'
28. *āme*, *āme°*, pers. pron., 'we.' See *Grammar*, § 60. In iv. 7 *āmānni* is an abbreviation for the directive *āmānsānni*.
29. *āmmā* (Ar.), 'but.' Contracted to 'mā, iv. 10.
30. *āmr* (Ar.), 'an order, command' (dissyllable). *āmrōsi*, 'his command,' xxxiii. 1.
31. *āmr-kerār*, 'to command.' See *āmr*.
32. *ānā*, 'an egg.' Accus. *ānā*, xiv. 7.

33. *ār-*, preterite and imperative stem of *āuār*, which see.
34. *ārī*, variant of *āurā*, which see: 'that one.' Acc. pl. *ārān*, i. 10, xvi. 11. Doubled, *ārān u ārān*, i. 20, 'these men and those.'
35. *ārāt*, 'a night.' Used adverbially (like 'nights' in American English), xxviii. 2, xl. 1. With indef. art. *ārātāk*, xlvii. 2, etc.
36. *ārātān*, adv. of time, 'by night.'
37. *arat-hocer*, 'to become night.' Used chiefly or exclusively in the phrase *ārāt' el-dīnyā*, 'night fell.'
38. *ārātīyōs*, adv. of time, 'at night, in the night,' xxxv. 4, etc. It denotes a definite night, usually the night immediately following the events just related, whereas *ārātān* has an indefinite sense like 'nightly.' Thus *rāuri ārātīyos* means '[something happened and] she went away that night,' whereas *rāuri ārātān* means 'she went by night [always resting during the days].'
39. *ārātōs*, xlix. 7, l. 1. Variant of *ārātīyos*, which see.
40. *āris*, demonst. pron., 'this, that.' With indef. art. *ārsāk*, 'one there,' 'he.'
41. *ārzīn*, *ārzin*, 'millet.'
42. *āsnām* (Ar.). An Arabic plur. subst. (sing. *sénām*, 'an image, idol') used in Nuri as though singular: acc. plur. *āsnāmān*, xlii. 5. With plur. pred. suffix (for simple plural), *āsnāmēni*, xlii. 2.
43. *āštā*, subst. verb, defective. See *Grammar*, § 115. Seems to be used as a rule rather to introduce a character than to state a predicate: thus *āštā bizōtāk*, 'there was a poor man'; but *kan bizōtā* or *bizōtēyā*, 'he was poor.' Sometimes present in sense: see sentence quoted under *ag*.
44. *āt-*. The syllable to which the pronominal suffixes of the 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. and plur. are affixed to form the dative of the personal pronouns. See *Grammar*, § 60.
45. *ātkūrā*, 'male.' In lxvii. 8, the only place where it occurs in the examples, it is for some reason hamzated.
46. *ātme*, pers. pron., 'you.' See *Grammar*, § 60.
47. *ātōs*, 'flour.'
48. *ātōs-kākī*, 'a mill' (i.e., a wind or steam mill, not a simple quern).
49. *ātrā*, lxxx. 4; *ātri*, lxxxix. 4. A verb which seems to mean something like 'it was' or 'appeared.'

50. *ātu*, pers. pron., 'thou.' See *Grammar*, § 60.
51. *ātún*, prep. with abl., 'above, over.' *āmā hāldōm min ātún hātāytiski*, 'I leaped down from the top of the wall.' *ātún yēgrāki*, lxiv. 14. Shortened to *ātn*- when compounded with the pronom. suffixes, as *ātnis*, lxvi. 10, *ātnēmān*, xx. 2. Not found postfixed.
52. *āuār*, 'to come.' For paradigm see *Grammar*, § 122. Frequently used transitively, with the pronom. suffixes, as in *sābāhtān ārōsmān cōnāk*, 'in the morning a boy came (to) us'; *ārōsis*, lxx. 16. *ārīndemān* is thus used in xix. 12, but in xv. 12 it has a causative force, 'they made us come.' Note in this word the interjected short *e*, designed to help the pronunciation of the knot of consonants. In ii. 10, v. 3, xlv. 1, *ārēndi* or *ārīndi* seems to be the compound form of the 3rd plural preterite used absolutely, instead of the proper absolute form *āre*: this, however, is probably merely the present-future, properly *āurēndi*. 'To be born': *ārā zāro*, *nāndōsis nīm ārāt*, 'the boy was born, she bore him at midnight.'
53. *āuāri*, apparently the 3rd sing. pres. of *āuār* (which see), and meaning literally 'it comes,' but used in a quasi-adverbial sense of 'a journey, a space of time' of specified duration. Thus *wēsreñ āuāri nīm sā ārāt* (xxvi. 9), 'we stayed, it comes 50 nights,' i.e., 'we stayed 50 nights.'
54. *āudā*, 'an old man.' Dat. sing., *āudētā*, lxviii. 11, abl. sing. *āudās(k)*, xviii. 9, *āudēs(k)*, xlviii. 8. Abl. pl. *āudānkī*, xxxii. 3.
55. *āudi*, 'an old woman.'
56. *āuni*, for *āuinni*, 'a comer,' 'coming'; in such phrases as *āuni žim'a*, 'next week'; *āuni wars*, 'next year.'
57. *āurā*, dem. pron., 'that one'; also *ōrā*. The declension may follow the masc. or the neuter form (with or without *s* respectively), no doubt implying a real distinction originally, which has, however, been lost. Thus in the directive case *āurākiā*, to a man, xxxi. 13, but *āurāškā*, to a rod, in lvii. 3. In lx. 8 we have *āurākārā*, in lxvii. 11 *āurāškārā*, both to men.
58. *āurāg*, 'a sickle.'
59. *āusā*, 'a shadow.' *lāherdā āusus pācis*, 'he saw his shadow behind him.'
60. *āusā*, 'a little bird.'

61. *āusā-far*, 'to dream,' *lit.* 'to strike a shadow.' *āusā-fērā yīcā*, lxxxvi. 11.  
 62. *āusoste*, dem. adj., 'those.' *āusoste zīriāte dré-hrēndi siéstā*, 'those children are accustomed to cold.'  
 63. *āuwāl* (Ar.), 'first.' *āuwāl hāterā*, 'the first time.' Also 'formerly': as *āuwāl kan wāšīs zerā*, 'formerly he had money.' *āuwāl hujōti*, 'the day before yesterday.'  
 64. *āžrā*, 'last night': also, 'this coming night.'

## B

65. *bābār* (Ar., from French *vapeur*), 'a train, machine, engine.'  
 66. *bābūri-pand*, 'a railway.'  
 67. *bād*, 'a grandfather.'  
 68. *bādā* (Ar.), 'he began': an Arabic verb with Arabic inflection used in c. 71.  
 69. *bāgār*, 'to break; ' also 'to lose' (by a transaction): as *bāgirēn kāliēmā*, 'we lost on the sheep,' xxvi. 6. *bagirēk*, 'it is broken.'  
 70. *bāginnā*, 'a nut.'  
 71. *bāgl*, *bāgāl* (Ar.), 'a mule.' Abl. *bāglīki*, lxi. 7. Also pronounced *bāgl*, dat. *bāglētā*, xxxiii. 10.  
 72. *bāhār* (Ar. *bāḥr*), 'the sea.' Abl. *bāhāriki*, lxiv. 5.  
 73. *bāhāš-kerār* (Ar. *bāḥāš*), 'to dig,' lxiv. 9.  
 74. *bāḥri* (Ar. *bāḥr*), 'incense.'  
 75. *bāi*, 'a wife.' Rarely heard without the pronom. suffixes, *bāiōm*, *bāiūr*, etc.  
 76. *bāklā*, 'a locust.' See *pākā*.  
 77. *bākrā*, 'a sheep.' Properly 'a ram,' with fem. *bākri*, 'a ewe'; but though both forms are found the distinction is not always preserved.  
 78. *bāke* (Ar. with Nuri inflection), 'they remained,' xliii. 1.  
 79. *bāktī* (Ar.), 'the remainder.' With pronom. suffix *bāktīyōs* (for *-ōsān*), 'the rest of them,' xxvi. 10.  
 80. *bāklā*, 'a bean, beans.' *bāklék-ķēšī*, 'food of beans, a stew of beans,' xxxv. 10.  
 81. *bākli* (Ar. *mākli*), 'fried meat.' Loc. *bāklēmā*, xli. 6. *bāklīk-kerā*, 'a merchant or preparer of fried meat.'  
 82. *bākū* (Ar.), 'they remained.' An Arabic verb with Arabic inflection which has crept into c. 65.



83. *bal* (Ar.), 'mind, attention.' *indé bálor*, xxxiii. 12, 'pay heed'; *fěřǎ balismă*, lvi. 5, 'he struck in his mind,' i.e. it occurred to him.
84. *bālǎh*, *bélǎh* (Ar.), 'a date-palm.'
85. *balás*, 'a bed-cover.'
86. *bǎnǎr*, *bánǎr*, 'to bind.' *mîndéndis tmǎlie*, *bânde hastés pǎcís*, 'the soldiers took him, bound his arms behind him'; *bândi kápǎŭ*, 'she locked the door'; *jíbǎs bǎntrǎ*, 'his tongue was tied,' i.e. he had a defect in speech; *banîrék*, 'imprisoned.'
87. *bǎninnǎ*, 'a bond.' Loc. sing. *bǎninnésimă*, xix. 16. *Kǎli pîştǎs bǎninnǎ*, 'a strap, the bond of the back,' i.e. a strap bound on the back.
88. *banş*, 'a prison.'
89. *bar*, 'a brother.' Vocative *bǎrǎ*, lviii. 4.
90. *bar*, 'trouble, vexation,' vii. 12.
91. *bǎrǎ* (Ar. *bǎrǎ*), 'outside'; also 'outwards,' as *min kǎpiǎki u bǎrǎ*, 'from the door and outwards.'
92. *bǎrdǎ*, 'full.'
93. *bǎrdǎ-kerǎr*, 'to fill.'
94. *bǎrki* (Ar. *bǎrǎk*), 'lightning.'
95. *bǎrtǎl-kerǎr* (Ar. *bǎrtǎl*, 'a bribe'), 'to bribe.'
96. *bǎrwǎs-wali*, 'an eyebrow.'
97. *bǎşernǎ*, 'married,' ix. 13.
98. *bǎtîh* (Ar.), 'a water-melon,' lxix. 10.
99. *bǎtmǎ*, 'a rotl' (a weight between five and six lbs.). The plural is used contrary to the rule in *Grammar*, § 55, *Obs. II.*, after numerals: *das bǎtmǎn*, xix. 23; *sǎn bǎtmǎn*, lxi. 8.
100. *bǎtrǎ*, 'loose, fluid.'
101. *bǎtîl-höcer* (Ar. *bǎttǎl*, 'to stop'), 'to stop, intermit.'
102. *bǎŭǎr*, 'to divide, share.'
103. *bǎŭlǎ*, 'a bracelet.'
104. *bǎwi*, 'a share.' Loses the *i* when compounded with pronom. suffixes, as *bǎwōs*, 'his share.'
105. *bǎzǎl*, 'a beetle.'
106. *bǎd* (Ar.), prep. governing abl. 'after,' as *bǎd kǎmuski*, 'after his work'; *bǎd wǎrsinǎliki*, 'after the rain.'
107. *bǎd* (? Ar. *bǎd*, 'some'), used in plur. form, with plur. pronominal suffixes, to form the reciprocal pronouns. See *Grammar*, § 73.

108. *ba'dén* (Ar.), 'afterwards.'
109. *ba'dílǎ*, 'a loaf of millet-flour.'
110. *bú'd-mǎ* (Ar.), 'after that, after.' *bá'd-mǎ štírdǎ ráwáhrǎ*, 'after he rose he departed.'
111. *ba'd-uráti*, 'the day after to-morrow.'
112. *bá'ri* (Ar.), 'excrement,' esp. of cattle.
113. *bédǎl* (Ar.), prep. governing abl. 'instead of': *bédǎl kámuski*, 'instead of work'; *bédǎl kákusánki*, 'instead of their property.'
114. *bédǎl-mǎ* (Ar.), 'in requital for.' *párdǎ mněscǎn bédǎl-mǎ násre nim sǎu zerd*, ii. 13, 'he took 50 pounds in requital for their flight' (lit. 'instead of that they fled').
115. *bélǎd* (Ar.), 'a town, village.' In xxxiv. 7, 'a country,' for which in Arabic the plural *beláid* is used.
116. *bélǎh*. See *bálah*.
117. *béler*, 'to imprison.' *bélósis*, ii. 5: *hǎlli bélérsǎn*, 'let him imprison them.'
118. *béli*, 'a friend.' *ǎmǎ wǎ-tíir bélié hréni*, 'I and thou are friends.'
119. *bēn* (Ar.), prep. governing abl., 'between.' *bēn ikiéski*, 'between his eyes'; *bēn kǎutánki*, 'between thieves.' With plur. pronom. suffixes, *bēní*, as *bēnítsǎn*. In lxx. 13 is a variant, *bēnǎ*; in xciv. 11, *bēnǎtísǎn*.
120. *bēn*, 'a sister': rarely heard without the pronom. suffixes, as *bēnítsǎn*, 'their sister'; *bēníškǎ*, 'to his sister.'
121. *bēni-kerǎr* (Ar. *bana*, 'to build'), 'to build,' lxii. 13.
122. *bēsǎuǎyǎ*, 'marriage.' *min-šǎn bēsǎuǎyǎki*, 'for marriage'; *mǎngǎye° bēsǎuǎye°*, 'you do not want to be married.'
123. *bēsǎui-hócer* (? Ar. *bi-sǎuǎ*, 'together'), 'to get married.'
124. *bēsǎui-kerǎr*, 'to give in marriage, cause to marry.' With double accus., *b.-k. pótrus hǎlus-díri*, ix. 7; with accus. and directive, *b.-k. díris máumǎs-pitrǎškǎ*, ix. 5. In lxx. 9 the verb is used instead of *b.-hócer*.
125. *bi-* (Ar.), proclitic preposition, 'with, for,' chiefly used (a) with Arabic words, as *bi-sǎlámi*, 'in peace'; *bi-tǎmám*, 'in completeness, complete, exactly'; (b) with numerals, or words having a certain sense of quantity, as *bi-štár zerd*, 'for four pounds'; *jéján-hre bi-dísǎk u nǎnde bi-dísǎk*, 'they conceived in a day and brought forth in a day.'
126. *bǎǎr*, 'to fear' (r-preterite). *na bǎǎs*, 'fear not ye.' With abl. of thing feared, either with or without prepositions:

as *bīrōm wārānīki*, 'I was afraid of the rat'; *bīrōm min gōrwāk*, 'I was afraid of the bull'; *lak mātān illi wēsēndi erhōnā*, *bīrōmi muēssānni*, 'see the people sitting there, I was afraid of them'; *bīrōmi ātārtā pāndāsmā*, 'I feared for you on the road' [because of danger].

127. *bicaūār*, 'to salute.'
128. *biddi* (Ar.). A word used to form the desiderative of verbs, or often a simple future. See *Grammar*, § 107.
129. *biġ*, 'a moustache.'
130. *bīk*, 'a pen' (writing).
131. *bilūhrā*, 'a monkey.'
132. *bīnāūār*, causative of *bīār*, which see: 'to frighten.' *bīnāūrde snōtās*, 'they frightened the dog.'
133. *bīrāk*, 'a coward': *bārōm bīrāk*, xxxix. 9. Probably the *k* is the indef. art., and the word should be *bīrā*, a verbal noun resembling *kérā*.
134. *bīs*, 'straw.'
135. *bišwāī*, 'fear.' *bišwānki*, 'for fear': see *Grammar*, § 40. Also *bīši*: *āmīntā bīši hrēnā*, lit. 'on us be the fear there,' i.e. do not you be afraid of that contingency you suggest.
136. *bītā*, 'earth.'
137. *bi-tāmām* (Ar.), 'completely.' See *bi-*. 'In full,' xxvi. 6.
138. *bītās-dirnā*, 'the earth-digger,' i.e. a mole.
139. *bītāsmā-drāri*, 'a hedgehog.'
140. *biyāti*, 'a scissors.'
141. *bizōtā*, 'poor, a poor man.' When used as a substantive, declined as such, but when an adj., has the inflections of adjectives only, as described in *Grammar*, § 49. This word is almost always uttered, in whatsoever context, with a beggar's whine!
142. *blāriāggis*, 'grapes.'
143. *blāri*, *brāri*, 'a cat.'
144. *blā-kerār* (Ar.), 'to swallow.'
145. *bōi*, 'a father': rarely used without the pronom. suffixes. Voc. *bōiā*, lxxx. 8.
146. *bōl*, *bōli*, adj. and adv., 'much, great, very, more.' Used generally in any intensive signification. *sīndom ihi kūrīānmā maṭēni bōl hāzānāi*, 'I heard that there were people laughing a great deal in that tent'; *ānkīir bōli zard*, 'you have much money': *bōlnā āsiis* (with abbreviated

plur. predic. suffix, see *Grammar*, § 79, *Obs.* III.), 'his crimes are great'; *hátān ple, kan mángēk bōl, dēmri*, 'here is money, if you want more I will give you,' xxxiii. 13. Also in an extended sense, 'important, true, real': as *dīānā bōl*, 'true religion,' xlii. 1. 'In excess'; 'scanty' or 'lacking' is sometimes expressed by *bōl inhe°*.

147. *brári*. See *blári*.

148. *brinž* (Turkish *birinji*, 'first,' adopted in Ar. in the sense of 'first-rate'), 'rice.'

149. *búdr*. In answer to the inquiry as to the Nuri for 'mouse,' I received the answer *búdrān-keri*: this clearly means the *búdr*-maker, but I do not understand *búdr*. The proper word for mouse is *iki-kūštōti*, 'the small-eyed.'

150. *bǎg*, 'a pig.'

151. *būgl*. See *bāgl*.

152. *bāndēri* (Ar.), 'a flag.'

153. *būrḡkánkāṭ* (Ar. *būrḡkán*), 'an orange.'

## C

154. *cal*, 'a well, pit.'

155. *cāmdā*, 'bad, corrupt, counterfeit, stingy.' *cāmdā ple*, 'false coin'; *cāmdā hrā mēsi*, 'the meat has become rotten.'

156. *cāmdā-kerār*, 'to destroy, corrupt.'

157. *cāmdā-kiyāk*, 'a bad thing,' with every possible variety of meaning. *kildā ātsantā cāmdā-kiyāk*, 'a demon rose against them'; *kūri bārdik cāmdā-kiyāk*, 'the house is full of cobwebs.' *Kiyāk* is here used like our 'thingummy.'

158. *cānā*, 'kohl, antimony' [a cosmetic].

159. *cānbāyinnā*, 'an olive.'

160. *car*, 'to say, speak.' *d*-preterite. *nu cwa*, 'do not speak'; followed by the directive case of the person addressed, as *círde ābúškā*, 'they said to him.'

161. *cārār*, 'to hide.' *min pūnj wars ni tirlā tmāliānkārā plen: yóm-in ārā gōrāndelā nāsrā, cārdā hālōs hārāb-dēikāmā*, 'for five years he has paid nothing to the soldiers (paid no taxes): when the horseman came he ran away and hid himself in a ruin.' *Sīrios giš cārīrā inhērik*, 'his head was all covered with blood.'

162. *cāri*, 'light.' *kuriōrān inhe° minji cāri, lāherdese° kāl-*

*bāiōrān, dū-kērās cāriā*, 'there is no light in your house, you cannot see each other, light the light.'

163. *carš, cāruši*, 'a rug, bed, carpet.' Dat. sing. *cārūstā*, xxix. 7. *kēkā nā cāršāk āhārim*, 'why is there is no cushion under me?'
164. *celā*, 'trousers.'
165. *cenc*, 'a side, border.' *pāniāk cencésmā*, 'on the sea-shore'; *céncāki rāci*, 'walk on the side'; *cencurmék*, 'which is around thee,' xxxiii. 3.
166. *cic*, 'a breast, nipple.' *jārāk ciēus mīstik, sākere? pīnāūr pótrus*, 'a woman with a disease in her breast cannot suckle her son.'
167. *ciēs*, 'draughts' (game). *hūlli kēcān ciēs*, 'let us play a game of draughts.'
168. *cif*, 'saliva.'
169. *cif-kerār*, 'to spit.'
170. *cínā*, 'a little' of anything, 'a while.' *gēnā cínāk*, 'a little longer'; *wēsren cínāk*, 'we stayed for a while.'
171. *cīnābri*, 'after a little, afterwards.'
172. *cīnār*, 'to cut.' *incināre cīri*, 'the knife does not cut.' 'To cross a river' (compare the English colloquialism 'to cut across'), *cīndēn Šrāš*, 'we crossed the Jordan'; *cīndā Hāūrānātī*, 'he crossed over to the Hauran.' Also 'to imprison, keep in bond, condemn to imprisonment'; *cīndā ātsūntā wīs wars*, 'he condemned them to twenty years imprisonment'; *enēs ātsūntā tārān das wars*, 'keep ye them in prison thirty years.'
173. *cīri*, 'a knife, razor.' Acc. sing. *cīriā*, dat. *cīriēmā*.
174. *cīrm*, 'nasal mucus.'
175. *cītīnā*, 'strong.'
176. *emāri*, 'a chicken.'
177. *cókmāk*, 'tinder.'
178. *cónā*, 'a boy.'
179. *cóni*, 'a girl.'
180. *cop*, 'a whistle.' (Shákir denied that this word existed, substituting the Ar. *šibāh*.)
181. *Cājā*, 'Egypt.'
182. *Cāji*, 'an Egyptian': with indef. art. *cājik*, xxxiv. 2.
183. *cúkerā*, 'deep.' *cúkeri cal*, 'a deep well.'
184. *cúkmā*, 'flint and steel' for striking fire.
185. *cúkena*, 'oil': with indef. art. *cúknāk*, 'some oil,' lv. 16.

## D

186. *dābis* (Ar. *dābbās*), 'a club.' Instr. sing. *dābismā*, lxi. 17.
187. *dābūrā* (Ar.), 'a sledge-hammer.'
188. *dād*, 'a grandmother.'
189. *dāf*, 'a knot.' Instr. sing. with indef. art *dāfākāmā*, xxxii. 3.
190. *dāhl* (Ar.), 'protection' (lit. 'entrance'). *āmā dāhlūrmā hrōmī*, 'I am under your protection.'
191. *dā*, 'a mother.' Rarely used without the pronominal suffixes. Voc. *dāe*, lxxiii. 10; *de*, xcii. 2. A Nawar asked to translate *kīf ābāk u imnāk?* 'How are thy father and thy mother?' gave *kīfā dāūr wa bōūr*. It may be an accident that he reversed the order of the relationship, but it is possibly worth notice.
192. *dāli-kerūr* (Ar. *dālā*, a bucket), 'to lower,' as a bucket into a well.
193. *dān*, 'crops.' *dāle kāre giš dānās*, 'the worms have eaten all the crops.'
194. *dānās-kēnnā*, 'the crop-eater,' i.e. a locust.
195. *dānd-bāginnā*, 'the tooth-breaker,' i.e. a chickpea. (Shakir scornfully rejected this word, substituting *mēwīj*.)
196. *dān-dīrgā*, 'a porcupine.' Possibly ought to be *kand-dīrgā*. See *kand*.
197. *dārā*, 'a pomegranate.'
198. *dāri*, 'a bride.'
199. *das*, 'ten.' Used in counting, when the substantive is mentioned.
200. *dāsēs*, 'ten.' Used absolutely, as *pānjān dāsēsne*, 'they were ten (men),' xxi. 13. An uncommon form.
201. *dasnāwīyā*, 'a metallik,' a coin worth about a half-penny.
202. *dāūr*, 'to wash.' *biddi dāūām hastēm*, 'I want to wash my hands'; *nān štāl kiyākēm l'illi dāūāri*, 'fetch and bring my things to the person who will wash them (the washer-woman)'; *dāūārdēnis* or *dāurdēnis*, 'we washed him'; *pānāk-kāki illi dāūāndi minj*, 'a water-thing which they wash in,' i.e. a bath.
203. *dāūr*, 'to hurry.' *dāūāndi*, 'they hurry,' liii. 8. Imper.

*dāuš*, xxix. 6. *ni sákrōm ráúcām pándāsmā, tīlli wádik dáuri minjís*, 'I could not walk on the road, there was a great river running over it.'

204. *dāul*, *dāul-uktinnā*, 'a drum.'

205. *dāuni*, 'soap.'

206. *dāurik-pani*, 'a river.'

207. *dāwā*, 'a camel.' Acc. sing. *dāwā*.

208. *dāzgāni*, 'a table.'

209. *dāzgi*, 'a saddle': also called *góriāk-dāzgi*.

210. *dē*, 'a village.' Dat. sing. *dēātā*, xiii. 7, or *dētā*, xxvi. 17: loc. *dēmā*, lix. 4: directive *dēākā*, lix. 2, *dēākārā*, liv. 8: abl. *dēāk*, xiii. 5: acc. pl. *dēān*, lxviii. 10: with indef. art. directive *dēākākā*, xxvi. 17, loc. *dēākāmā*, iv. 4: in the plur. the *a* of the inflections tends to become *i*, thus dat. *dēintā*, xlix. 15; loc. *dēimmā*, xlix. 8: and also in the singular, though less frequent, as loc. *dēikāmā*, liii. 4; abl. *dēik*, xxxvii. 6. Loc. with pred. suffix *dēménā*, xxxiv. 15.

211. *dēlli-kerār*. See *dāli-kerār*.

212. *dēmī* (Ar.), 'a tear' (of eye).

213. *déngiz*, 'a ship.' In full *déngiz pāniākāki*, 'a ship, a water-thing.' In the oblique cases both words are inflected, as *dengizmā pāniākākmā*, xxxiv. 5. In lxiv. 2, *déngiz pāniākāki*, 'a ship of water.' Also *pāniāk-déngiz*, sometimes mispronounced *-dezigil*.

214. *der*, 'to give.' See paradigm in *Grammar*, § 122.

215. *déri*, 'a place.' Loc. with indef. art. *dériākāmā*, xxxvii. 5.

In lv. 8 the anomalous form *dériākākāmā* is perhaps produced by the influence of the common suffix *-kāki*. *pāūwus-deri*, 'a footmark.'

216. *derij-hócer* (Ar. *dārāž*, 'a step'), 'to step.' *derijri*, 'she stepped,' lxxvi. 87.

217. *dérmān*, 'a drug, medicine.'

218. *dēs*, 'ten.' See *das*. Accus. *désinā*, xiii. 13.

219. *dēs*, 'a place, habitation.' *désim*, 'my place, my usual camping-ground.' Very common with superdefinite article, as *ádēsāsmā*, xlix. 3, *édēsāsmā*, lii. 13.

220. *dest* (Ar.), 'a parcel, bundle.'

221. *djang*, 'a shot, bullet.' *fēréndmān tārān djang*, 'they fired three shots at us'; *djāng-far*, 'to shoot.'

222. *dfin-kerār* (Ar. *dufn*, 'he buried'), 'to bury.'

223. *dhānāb*<sup>1</sup> (Ar.), 'a tail.'
224. *dī*, 'two.' Sometimes pronounced *dīi*, as in xv. 8. Constructed usually with singular, as *dī wars*, xi. 9, sometimes even with indef. art., as *dī bākrāk*, xlix. 14; but occasionally a plural form appears (an old dual?), as *dī bāre*, xiv. 1. An acc. plur. form is sometimes found in oblique cases, as *dīānū kānilēmā*, xxix. 5. With pred. suffix *dīēni*, xxxvii. 5.
225. *dīū*, 'two.' Variant of *dī*, xviii. 12.
226. *dīānā* (Ar. *dīn*), 'religion.'
227. *dīānā*. See *dī*.
228. *dīār-hōcer*, 'to show oneself, appear.' *dīār-iḥra kājjiētā*, lxv. 8.
229. *dīb* (Ar. *dubb*), 'a bear.' *mānus illi jāri dībés mā uydarmā nānāri bōli ple*, 'the man who goes with a (dancing) bear in the town gets much money.'
230. *dīēs*, *dīs*, or *dīs*, 'two,' when the substantive is not expressed. With pred. suff. *dīēsne*, *dīēsni*. *tāsre dīs*, 'two (men) were drowned.'
231. *dif*, 'tobacco': *dīfūs-hāti*, 'a cigarette.'
232. *dīi*. See *dī*.
233. *dīknūāār*, 'to show, exhibit': causal of a verb *dik-* to see, not used in Nuri. See *Grammar*, § 108, *Obs.* II.
234. *dīl*, *dīli*, 'clay, dust, ashes.' *dīlōsi āgiki*, 'cinders'; *lāhāmi dīli mānsāstā*, 'I see mud on the man.'
235. *dīnyā* (Ar.), 'the world, universe, weather.' *ārātrā ed-dīnyā*, 'the universe "nighted,"' i.e. night fell; *wārsr ed-dīnyā*, 'the universe rained,' i.e. rain fell. (The *ed-* in these sentences is the Ar. article.)
236. *dīrā*, 'far, distant.' *dīrā jar*, 'let him go far away, send him off'; *dīrā 'nhe°*, 'not far, close by, near.' Also *dīrān*.
237. *dīrār*, 'to split, cleave, tear.' *dīrde kēlān*, 'they rent [their] clothes'; *dīrde bitās tā-kērānd kūrīā*, 'they dug the earth to make a house.' In lxviii. 21, *dīrde-kerdendis* is a confusion of two grammatical forms, resembling the expressions cited in *Grammar*, § 119. *bitāsmā dīrār*, 'to plough': see sentence quoted in *Grammar*, § 89.

<sup>1</sup> The initial of this word is a different letter from *d* (د instead of ذ), but as it is the only word in the vocabulary beginning with this letter it is not worth while making a separate heading.



238. *dīrār*, 'to travel as far as.' *dīrā Till-uyártā*, 'he travelled as far as Damascus.'
239. *dīrgā*, 'long, tall.' *tīllā-tmáliāk dīrgék windīrdū āgrilānki*, 'an officer who was tall stood before them.'
240. *dīrgi*, 'a lizard.'
241. *dīrgwā*, 'length.' *dīrgwāistā dīsāsk*, 'for the whole day': *dīrgwāistā āratāk nī jāndōm sūcām*, 'I could not sleep the whole night'; *ārā rūūāri fēvā snōtāsmā dīrgwāistā pāndāsk*, 'he came walking and beating the dog all the way.'
242. *dīrī*, 'a daughter.'
243. *dīri-kerār*, 'to make ashes, to winnow, scatter.'
244. *dīrnāūār*, causative of *dīrār*, 'to cause to split.' *dīrnāūardū wālos*, 'he caused its hair to split,' an expression for 'he skinned' an animal.
245. *dīrš*, 'a furrow.'
246. *dīs*, 'a day.' *kēi pārāri dīsāsmā*, 'what (wages) does he get in the day?'
247. *dīs*, *dīs*. See *dīs*.
248. *dīsān*, 'during the day, by day.' Compare *ārātān*. *Kūīrā pnārā dīsān*, 'snow fell during the day'; *pōtrōm kām-keri dīsān u āratān*, 'my son works day and night.'
249. *dīšāu* (Ar. *dibs*), 'grape-treacle.'
250. *dīya-*, *dīye-*, etc., for words beginning thus see *dīu-*, *dīe*, etc.
251. *dīzgi*. See *dāzgi*.
252. *dōm*, 'a Nuri.'
253. *dōmāri*, 'the Nuri language.'
254. *dōndā*, 'a tooth.' *āūdā inhe° ābūsā dōnde*, *jānāre° jūūār kēšās*, 'the old man has no teeth, he cannot bite his food.'
255. *dōndān-deri*, 'a jaw.' See *Grammar*, § 30, *Obs*.
256. *dōndān-masi*, 'gum' (of teeth).
257. *dōni*, 'knee.'
258. *dōsārā*, 'a negro'; *dōsāri*, 'a negress.'
259. *dōwi*, 'a large wooden spoon.'
260. *drārā*, 'rich, happy, satisfied.' *drārék*, 'he is satisfied.' lviii. 1; *drārēyā*, 'he was satisfied,' lxii. 14.
261. *drārā-kerār*, 'to satisfy.'
262. *drāš*, 'threshing.' *lōh drāšiki*, 'the threshing-sledge,' a board with iron teeth dragged over the wheat on the threshing-floor.

263. *drē-hócer*, 'to be accustomed.' See sentence under *āusóste*.  
 264. *dreš*, 'a spindle.' *dréšāki pášmākāki*, 'a spindle for wool.'  
 265. *drīrā*, 'cracked.' *āšte ānktīmān dī kōtki, yikāk mnēššān*  
*drīrēk, u yikāk kánōs bāgīrēk giš, mānde° mnēštis kiyāk,*  
 'we had two cups, but one of them is cracked, and the  
 handle of the other is broken altogether, nothing is left  
 of it.'  
 266. *dū* (Ar. *dāw*), 'light.'  
 267. *dūd* (Ar.), 'a worm.'  
 268. *dū-hócer*, 'to be lighted.' *miḥcāri dū-hrēk*, 'the candle is  
 lighted.'  
 269. *dā-kāmār*. 'to light.' *dā-kam miḥcāriā*, 'light the candle.'  
 A rare word.  
 270. *dā-kerār*, 'to light.' *āmā hujojti dā-kerdōm miḥcāriā*, 'I lit  
 the candle yesterday.'  
 271. *dzīri* (Ar. *žāzīri*), 'an island.'

## D

272. *dāf*, 'thread.' *māsiūk dāfos*, 'a vein.'  
 273. *dāwī* (Ar.), 'a light.'  
 274. *dla* (Ar.), 'a rib.'  
 275. *dóher* (Ar.), 'noon.'

## E

276. *ē-*, the superdefinite article. See *Grammar*, § 20.  
 277. *ēfeni*, 'thus, in that manner.' *inni ni kerdēsi ēfeni,*  
*mārdōmrān*, 'if you do not so I will kill you.'  
 278. *ehe*, proclitic demonstrative plural, 'these.' *ehe tmālie*, 'these  
 soldiers'; *ehe kūtīnēni*, 'these (men) are thieves.'  
 279. *ejj*, 'soul, life, spirit.' *ejjós minjē*, 'the life in him, he was  
 alive.'  
 280. *el-*, the Arabic definite article. See *Grammar*, § 22.  
 281. *elgām* (Ar. *ližm*), 'a bridle.'  
 282. *elhāsmā*. See *li°*.  
 283. *erhēnā*, adv. of place, 'here': used after verbs both of motion  
 ('hither') and of rest. *ārōm erhēnā*, 'I came hither'; *nī*  
*lāherdōmur erhēnā*, 'I did not see you here.' Sometimes  
 pronounced *hrēnā*.

284. *erhōnā*, 'there, thither': used similarly to *erhēnā*. Sometimes pronounced *hrōnā*.

## F

285. *jǎ* (Ar.), 'and.' In phrase *jǎ 'l-lhrǎ*, 'and what happened,' 'and so forth,' to avoid the repetition of a narration already known. See c. 32, 48.
286. *jādi* (Ar.), 'empty, leisured.'
287. *jū* (Ar.), 'a shadow.'
288. *fālka* (Ar.), 'division, fragment': *jāl-kēk*, used as adj., 'torn.'
289. *far*, 'to beat, strike': for paradigm see *Grammar*, § 122. There are a number of meanings in the verb, all analogous to the radical significance: 'to strike' (of the evil eye)—as *bīrōmī yēgrōm*, *innī lki fērōsis*, 'I fear (for) my horse that the eye has struck him': 'to kick'—as *fērōsim yēgīr*, 'the horse kicked me': 'to dig'—*kēkǎ jak hǎstērmǎ bītāsmǎ*, *inhe° ūnkīr tāwār?* 'why do you dig (strike in the earth) with your hands, have you no spade?' (Note in this sentence the instrumental and locative cases, similar in form but contrasted in meaning): 'to shoot'—*fērēndmān tārān dfang*, 'they fired three shots at us.' The last sentence illustrates the double accusative found after this verb: compare *fērōsis cīriǎ*, 'he struck him with a knife,' xxvii. 4. (It may, however, take a locative: *fāmī snōlāsmǎ*, 'I beat [on] the dog':) *āri lāci fīrik w'inhār huldēk muēšis*, 'the girl came beaten, and blood falling from her.'
290. *fārik-kerār* (Ar. *fērrik*, 'he divided'), 'to divide.'
291. *fāršali*, 'lead' (metal). Shākir gave me this word, but afterwards corrected it to *kāršēni*, which see.
292. *fāsūli* (Ar. *fāsād*), 'a quarrel.'
293. *fāsār-kerār* (Ar. *fāsār*, 'he interpreted'), 'to explain, interpret.'
294. *fāzā-kerār* (Ar. *jizz*, 'he leapt'), 'to chase.' *jāza-kerār*, *kājjan pāčēsān*, 'we chased the men behind them.'
295. *fel*, 'a bag.' *režurdōsis felēmǎ*, 'he put it in a bag.'
296. *fēnnǎ*, 'a beaten man,' xxxiii. 7.
297. *fēši*, 'a beating': used chiefly in the ablative, in the phrase *mārār fēšiki*, 'to kill (figuratively, not literally) with blows.'

298. *jī-*, Arabic proclitic preposition, 'in.'  
 299. *fikk-hócer*, 'to be loosened.'  
 300. *fikk-kerār* (Ar. *fikk*, 'he loosened'), 'to loosen'; also 'to complete,' of a space of time. *lāmmā fikk-kerdā tārānā wārsān*, 'when he had accomplished the three years.'  
 301. *jirīn* (Ar.), 'mice.' Plur. of Ar. *far*, xcvi. 5.  
 302. *fonyār* (Russian loan-word in Ar.), 'a lantern.'  
 303. *frīd-kerār* (Ar. *fērid*, 'he spread'), 'to spread out' (as a carpet).  
 304. *far-hócer*, 'to be delighted.'  
 305. *fārwē* (Ar.), 'a sheepskin coat.'

## G

306. *gá-kerār*. See *gál-kerār*.  
 307. *gáli*, 'a cheek.'  
 308. *gáli* (Ar.), 'a saying, talk, a word.' *mānus nī jānde° gáli ke ihṛā*, 'the man did not understand what was said' (*lit.* did not know the talk, how it was).  
 309. *gál-kerār* (Ar. *kal*, 'he said'), 'to speak, say.' Often pronounced *gá-kerār*. *gál-nā-ker giš illi jānési*, 'say all that you know.'  
 310. *gām*, 'the sun.'  
 311. *gāmi*, 'the moon.' Shákir rejected this word: the proper word is *jindir*.  
 312. *gānā*, 'a flower.'  
 313. *gānilā*, 'a flower. *tilli-hāḡārā bārdik gānilā*, 'the garden is full of flowers.'  
 314. *Gānilā-dē*, 'flower-village,' a name for Jericho: in full, *G.-d. illi āḡārī*, 'the flower-village which is beneath' (Jericho is at the bottom of the Jordan depression).  
 315. *gar*, 'a testicle.'  
 316. *gārā*. See *jar*, and *Grammar*, § 122.  
 317. *gārdā*, 'safe, well, good.' *gārdék*, 'he was alive,' xxvii. 11. *ātā gārdā hrāri?* common salutation 'Are you well?'  
 318. *gārdā-hócer*, 'to recover from sickness,' xlv. 7.  
 319. *gārdā-kerār*, 'to cure.'  
 320. *gārdāni*, 'safe and sound.'  
 321. *gāri*, 'a pot, pottery.' *nān gārīā, pināūim*, 'fetch a jug, let me drink.'

322. *gāriāk-kīrwi*, 'a coffee-pot.'
323. *gāriēn-bāginnā*, 'the breakable thing of pottery(?)' *i.e.* pottery. Abl. *gāriēn-bāginnānki*, 'made of pottery,' xlii. 1.
324. *gārīr*, 'to return.' See *Grammar*, § 122, s.v. *jar*.
325. *gārnatūr*, 'to cause to return, bring back': causative of *gārīr*.
326. *gas*, 'herb, grass.' *ādi uāūri gāsāstā*, 'the old woman is seeking for a herb': *kull šīkl gāsāski*, 'every sort of herb.'
327. *gāsi*, 'green'; also as subst. 'spring' (season).
328. *gāstīrni*, 'a seal ring.'
329. *gāstīrni-sāwi*, 'owner of a seal ring,' *i.e.* a sheikh or village head-man.
330. *gāudīrmā*, 'scratching' (the skin).
331. *gāzār*, 'to bite, sting.' *sap gāzārli ānglōm*, 'the serpent stung my finger'; *mōzā kūštōtéki pāūmtā. gāzārdā pāūm*, 'the shoe is too small for my foot, it pinched my foot'
332. *gāzīnnā*, 'a bee.'
333. *gāzīnnā elhāski*, 'a spur.'
334. *gāzīnni*, 'a scorpion.'
335. *gehāi*, 'good, well, happy.' *gehāi hrāri?* 'Are you well?' *gehāi hōci*, 'may you be well,' 'thanks to you.'
336. *gēnā*, 'again, further, another, besides.' *par gēnā kōlkāk kīrwiāk*, 'take another cup of coffee': *mārdōsis u kōjjū mārdōsis gēnā*, xxxix. 27; *gēnā tīrdā zērdāk*, xxxi. 7; *gēnā cīnāk*, 'another while, a little longer'; *gēnā māsāk jāmi Panāk-uyārtā*, 'another month (after a month) I will go to Beirut.'
337. *gēsū*, *gēsūwi*, 'corn.'
338. *gīr*, *gīri*, 'butter.'
339. *giš*, 'all, every, the whole': as adverb, 'entirely, wholly.'
340. *gištāne*, 'all of them.' *hāre kīlie gištānān*, 'the goats ate all of them': with pronominal suffixes, *gištānēmān*, etc. *rāūri gištānēmān pānāk cencēsma*, 'we all are walking on the sea-shore.' Acc. also *gištānīn*.
341. *gōni*, 'a bag, purse.' *dēim gōniāk ple*, 'give me a purse of money.'
342. *gōrāndelā*, 'a horseman': nom. plur. *gōrāndele*, used for acc. in v. 6.

343. *góri, góri*, 'a mare': acc. plur. *góriān*. *góriāk-dizgi*, 'a saddle': *góriāk-siriāhus*, 'a saddle-girth.'
344. *góriān-kuri*, 'a stable.'
345. *gorisnā*, 'a packing-needle.'
346. *górū, górū, górwī*, 'a cow': acc. plur. *górwān*.
347. *górwā*, 'a bull.'
348. *górwānkāki*, 'belonging to a cow, bovine.' *māsi g.*, 'beef.'
349. *grānā*, 'heavy.' As adv., *mištā-hrōm grāni*, 'I became very sick,' xlv. 7.
350. *grēj*, 'a song.' *grēj-kerār*, 'to sing.'
351. *gres*, 'clarified butter,' for cooking. *intā māsiā grésmā*, 'fry the meat.'
352. *grēwārā*, 'a sheikh.'
353. *gūldā*, 'sweet,' both literally and metaphorically. *mānās āhā gūldēk bōl*, 'that man is very agreeable.' As subst., 'honey, sugar'; *āšti gūldā dēūrmā?* 'is there any honey in your village?'
354. *gūldi*, 'sweet coffee': in the phrase *kīrwi u gūldi*, 'bitter and sweet coffee' (which are drunk alternately at feasts).
355. *Gūld-uyārā*, 'the sweet town,' i.e. Jaffa, so-called because of the orange gardens around it.
356. *gūrgi*, 'a throat.' *gūrgirk hūros illi āhūr ukcīrk*, 'the bone of your throat which is under your beard,' i.e. your larynx.
357. *gūzā*, a corruption of *gūzēl*, which see. *ja bārdā-ker 'ibtōr kāšt, gūzā bārdā-ker*, 'go fill your arms with firewood, fill [them] well.'
358. *gūzā-hōcer*, 'to become fine.' *kēnūris blāriā māsi u sal mīn-sān gūzā-hōcer*, 'he feeds the cat with meat and rice that it may become handsome.'
359. *gūzā-kiyak*, 'the good thing,' i.e. *hālāwi*, a popular sweet-meat.
360. *gūzēl* (Turkish), 'beautiful, good, generous, happy.' *gūzēl-nā-ker kārā*, 'make the room tidy.' Also *gūzēli*.
361. *gūzēli*, 'truth.'
362. *gūzēl-panul*, 'a main road, high road.' *lāmmā jan uyārtū rīūāne? gūzēl-panulāsmā, rīūāni mīn hlāvik cencésmā*, 'when we go to the city we do not walk on the main road, we go through the countryside.'
363. *gūzēlwēmā*, 'a favour,' xeviii. 4.
364. *gūzēl-wā*, 'clear-sighted, clairvoyant,' xcii. 39.

## Ġ

365. *ġab-hócer*, 'to set' (sun).  
 366. *ġāflētū* (Ar. *ġafal*, 'he was careless'), adv. in form of a dative case, 'by chance.'  
 367. *ġāir* (Ar.), 'except, but that, unless.' *inhe° unktisān ġāir sālī*, lv. 5; *ġārōm mārūmī ġāir Hāyā in-ġārdā-kerdōm*, 'I was going to die only God made me recover'; *tīrdā grēwārīs elhāsmā ġāir nāndā jūri*, 'he put the sheikh in prison unless (i.e. until) he brought the woman.' A very common use is elliptical, in the sense 'nothing will satisfy but'—a usage borrowed from Arabic. A good example will be found in xxv. 9; compare *nīrdahrā° tmālī pārōssān, ġāir tārān sū zerd*, 'the governor would not take them (the 200 pounds): nothing would satisfy him but 300 pounds,' xvi. 16. In *nī wārt-kerdos ġāir tā-mrā°*, 'he did not loosen him till he died,' it has the sense of 'until.' *mīn ġāir* (Ar.), 'without.'  
 368. *ġāir-kerār* (Ar.), 'to change' (clothes, etc.).  
 369. *ġālī* (Ar.), 'dear, expensive, highly esteemed.' *ātū ġālī hrāri ānktm*, 'I think highly of you.'  
 370. *ġalib-hócer* (Ar. *ġalīb*, 'he conquered'), 'to conquer, surpass.'  
 371. *ġāla-hócer* (Ar. *ġala*, 'he boiled'), 'to boil.'  
 372. *ġāni* (Ar.), 'rich.'  
 373. *ġārīb* (Ar.), 'strange, a stranger.'  
 374. *ġāšīši* (Ar.), 'a trickster.'  
 375. *ġāzālī* (Ar.), 'a gazelle.'  
 376. *ġēb-hócer* (Ar.), 'to be far away.' *ġālā ġēbrik*, 'the ghul was far away'; *ġībōri*, lx. 10, 'he was distant.' In *ġēbri ġām*, 'the sun set,' liii. 2, there is a confusion with *ġab-hócer*, which see.  
 377. *ġēm* (Ar.), 'a cloud, mist.'  
 378. *ġīb-hócer*. See *ġēb-hócer*.  
 379. *ġālā* (Ar.), 'a ghul, demon.'  
 380. *ġālēk-kāki*, 'the property of a demon,' xiv. 13.  
 381. *ġārb* (Ar.), 'west'; *ġārbāstā*, 'westward.'  
 382. *ġūsben* (Ar.), 'compulsion': in phrase *ġāsben āmātā*, xl. 14, 'compulsion on me,' i.e. I must.  
 383. *ġūs-kerār* (Ar.), 'to sprinkle.'  
 384. *ġāz-kerār* (Ar.), 'to bore, make a hole.' *ġāz-kerdossān*, 'he perforated them.'  
 385. *Ġāzze* (Ar.), 'the town of Gaza.'

## H

386. *ha*, demonstr. part., 'lo, behold, there is, this is.' *ha kuričmék pánjī*, 'there he is in the house'; *ha gānā pirnānkā*, 'this flower is for noses' [*i.e.* is cultivated for its scent]; *āme' ha āgrér hrēni*, 'here we are before thee'; *ha kārómāni*, 'this is our donkey.' In xix. 7 *ha* stands for *āhā*, as a demonstr. adjective: *ha kāmásmā*, 'in this work.'
387. *hād-hócer*, 'to approach, climb up to.'
388. *hádi* (Ar.), 'this.' *hádi dānā zérđān, pārēsān*, 'these two pounds [= here are two pounds], take them,' xxviii. 5.
389. *hādóttā*, 'see, behold, lo.'
390. *hāná*, 'see here! take this!' xxix. 2.
391. *hári*, 'any, whatsoever.' *hári kīyā māngēk dēmri*, 'whatsoever thing you want I will give you.'
392. *hat*, 'here, behold, lo.' *hat ārēn*, 'see, we have come.'
393. *hātān*, 'here, behold,' xxxiii. 12.
394. *hātētā*, 'here, in this place.' *h. bēn hāstérki*, 'here he is between thy hands,' xxiii. 13; *āme h. wēsreni*, i. 9, like *hāná*, which see; *hātān ple*, 'here is money,' xxxiii. 12.
395. *hāwārā*, 'a blow' (?).
396. *hē*, 'they, these': abbrev. for *che*, which see. *hē jūrēni*, xix. 16.
397. *henčāār*, 'to cook': causative in form, but the simple verb was not found.
398. *hī* (Ar.), 'she': used with reference to the gender of an Arabic word, as in *innī hī šāṭarék*, 'that it is a trick.' Here the Arabic pronoun agrees in gender with the Arabic feminine noun *šāṭarā*, but the Nuri predicative suffix does not: strict logic would require *šāṭarik*.
399. *hīb-kerār*, 'to prevent,' xvi. 12.
400. *hīndā*, 'beyond.' *hīndā gāre tā-kāmnānd wīnni piend*, 'they went abroad to eat and drink.' In *hīnder*, 'further' (as *āre hīnder*, 'they came further'), there may be a trace of a comparative degree, otherwise lost.
401. *hītār*, 'a piece, fragment.' See xcii. 14 footnote.
402. *hnēnā*, 'here.' Used only after verbs of motion from, in the sense of 'hence,' and always with the preposition *min*: as *jas min hnēnā*, 'go hence.' Contrast *erhēnā*, which means motion towards, or rest in. In xxiv. 8, *min hnēnā* . . .



*min hrénǎ* seems to mean (starting from one point), 'in this direction and in that.'

403. *hnónǎ*, 'there': similar to *hnénǎ*, and similarly used. In *lāherdēn Dōmēni hnónǎ*, 'we saw that there were Nawar there,' *hnónǎ* is used for *hrónǎ*.
404. *hócer*, auxiliary verb: see *Grammar*, § 116. Usually forms intransitive or passive verbs, whereas *kénǎr* forms transitive verbs. This rule, however, is not without exception. With the preposition *ǎnkí*, compounded with the pronom. suffixes, it supplies the place of 'to have.' It also denotes possibility: *hóri*, *inhore°*, 'it is possible, impossible.' A curious transitive use is sometimes found, in the sense of 'to suffer, allow': as *la hrósmǎn la jan wálǎ pǎúǎn*, 'he did not allow us to go or to come'; *ni hrósis gǎlnǎ-kerǎr wǎšís*, 'he did not let him speak with him,' xxxiii. 9.
405. *hrénǎ*. See *erhénǎ*.
406. *hrēnde°*, verb-like form from *hrénǎ*, used only in the negative: *ni hrēnde°*, 'they are not here,' xlviii. 6.
407. *hū*, abbreviation for *ǎhǎ*, which see.
408. *húndǎ*, 'yonder.' See *híndǎ*.
409. *húndǎri*, 'yonder, over there': an adjective, whereas *húndǎ* is an adverb. See lii. 1, 2, *ǎdēsǎsmǎ el-húndǎri . . . ǎri húndǎ édesǎstǎ*, 'in that yonder place . . . she came yonder to that place.' Perhaps, however, *el-húndǎri* is a corruption of *ǎlli húndǎ hri*, 'which is yonder.'
- II
410. *ḥadī-kerǎr* (Ar.), 'to present.'
411. *ḥadīr-hócer* (Ar.), 'to be ready'; *tǎ ḥādīrcan*, 'that we might be present.'
412. *ḥafr* (Ar.), 'a horse-hoof.'
413. *Ḥāifǎ* (Ar.), the town Haifa.
414. *ḥawt* (Ar.), 'a wall.'
415. *ḥákim-kerǎr* (Ar.), 'to judge, condemn.'
416. *ḥakl* (Ar.), 'truth.'
417. *ḥāḥǎrǎ* (Ar.), 'a plantation': also *ḥāḥǎri*. *ḥāḥāciǎmīk pǎnǎjī*, 'he is in the plantation.'

418. *hājjoar* for *hāj-j-hócer* (Ar.), 'to go on pilgrimage.'
419. *hal* (Ar.), 'state, condition': with pronominal suffixes supplies the place of the reflexive pronouns: see *Grammar*, § 66.
420. *hālāwi* (Ar.), a sweetmeat composed of sesame-oil, honey, etc.
421. *hālā* (Ar. *hālān*), 'immediately.' *hālā gārīci*, 'return at once'; *āmā būldi jam ēlētā hālā*, 'I want to go to that village at once.'
422. *hāmām* (Ar.), 'a pigeon.'
423. *hāmīl-kerār* (Ar.), 'to load' a donkey, etc., xiv. 15.
424. *hāwān* (Ar.), 'flowers.' *hāwān mīneri*, 'he is gathering flowers' (where the subst. is, as in Arabic, collective): a single flower in Arabic is *hāwāneh*.
425. *hārāmi* (Ar.), 'a thief.'
426. *hārb* (Ar.), 'war, fight, battle.'
427. *hārb-kerār*, 'to fight, make war.' Sometimes transitive, as in English, 'to fight a man.'
428. *hāssād* (Ar.), 'a harvester.'
429. *hāssīri* (Ar.), 'a carpet.'
430. *hāšīši* (Ar.), 'grass.'
431. *hāttā*, 'see, behold': abbreviation of *hādóttā*, which see.
432. *Hāwran*, the Hauran. Dat. *Hāwranātā*, occasionally *Hāwri-nātā*.
433. *hāwīl-hócer* (Ar.), 'to surround, make a circuit, besiege': with dat. *hāwīl-ihre dētā*, they surrounded the village, xiii. 7.
434. *hāzmi* (Ar.), 'a faggot of firewood.'
435. *hédmě*. See *híd-mě*.
436. *hīdd-kerār* (Ar.) 'to pull down, ruin, destroy.' *gārār hīdd-kerēk kūrīā wālā mānēsī*, 'are you going to destroy the house or will you leave it [standing]?'
437. *híd-mě* (Ar.), 'until'; also *hédmě*.
438. *hīlim* (Ar.), 'a dream.'
439. *hīrt-kerār* (Ar.), 'to plough.'
440. *hoť*, 'seven.'
441. *hřř*, *hřři*. See *hócer*.
442. *hāwān-hócer* (Ar. *hāwān*, 'he blessed,' and analogous meanings), 'to be easy.' *hāwān-ihřř jāni āhā zárō krēn ārī dātš mānēsīs*, *hāwān ihřř*, 'it was easy for us to know when that boy was born, it is not a secret.'

## H

443. *hăfîfă* (Ar.), 'light' (weight).  
 444. *hăyâl* (Ar.), 'a horseman.'  
 445. *hăyâm* (Ar.), 'tents.' Plur. of Ar. *hémî*.  
 446. *hal* (Ar.), 'a maternal uncle'; *hălus dîri*, 'his uncle's daughter.'  
 447. *hăli* (Ar.), 'a maternal aunt'; *hălyôm*, 'my aunt.'  
 448. *hăli* (Ar., *hălleh*, 'a lowland, valley'), 'valley, waste, uninhabited country.' Loc. *hălŝmă* or *hălémă*, lv. 4, lxviii. 3: abl. *hălŝiki* or *hălėiki*, xxxvi. 1; *hălė-maŝ*, 'the people of the wilderness,' xxvi. 19: *suôtăs hălŝiki*, 'a wilderness dog,' i.e. a wolf.  
 449. *Hălîl* (Ar., 'Hebron,' the ordinary Arabic name for the town; short for *Hălîl er-Răhmân*, 'friend of the Compassionate,' [i.e., Abraham, friend of God]). Sometimes the oblique cases are formed as though from a nom., *Hălîli*: as abl. *Hălîliăki*.  
 450. *hăll-höcer*, 'to pass excrement.'  
 451. *hălli*, *hălîi* (Ar.), 'let, permit, suffer': see *Grammar*, § 99, for use. *hălli bēlésăn*, 'let him imprison them,' vii. 6: *hălli jan*, 'let us go,' i. 15.  
 452. *hămfăr-kerăr*, 'to purr' (cat).  
 453. *hămîli* (Ar.), 'fat.'  
 454. *hănzîr* (Ar.), 'a pig.'  
 455. *har*, 'a bone.' *hărăs pîŝăk*, 'the spine, backbone': *haros pētăk*, 'a rib.'  
 456. *hărăb-kerăr* (also *hîrib-kerăr*) (Ar.), 'to ruin, pull down, destroy.'  
 457. *hărăf-kerăr* (Ar.), 'to chatter, talk, relate a story.'  
 458. *hărdwăr*, *hărdwări*, 'a child, infant.' *căni hărdwăr*, 'an infant girl.'  
 459. *hări*, 'a finger-nail.'  
 460. *hărîbi* (Ar.), 'a ruin.'  
 461. *hărmăn* (Ar.), 'a threshing-floor.'  
 462. *hărrăb* (Ar.), 'the locust-tree.'  
 463. *hărŝălăr*, 'to groan.' *hărŝălări, sîrios u pētos tikwăndăsi, bōl inhîri pētusmă*, 'he is groaning, his head and his stomach pain him, there is too much blood in his body.'

464. *ḥāst*, 'a hand': abl. *ḥāstāski*. 'āme bēn ḥāstēr ḥrēni, 'we are between thy hands' (at thy disposal).
465. *ḥāšāb* (Ar.), 'timber, wood for carpentry' (whereas *kāšt* is firewood): abl. *ḥāšābiki*, lxiv. 3.
466. *ḥāterā* (Ar.), 'time, occasion.' Used to form the frequentative numerals, as *gāl-kerdā ēgāli tārān ḥāterā*, 'he said that word three times.' *Wēsreñd tā-škā-fērā ḥrēz ānwāl ḥāterā*, 'we waited till the cock crew three times.'
467. *ḥāṭ* (Ar. *ḥāṭṭ*), 'writing, handwriting'; 'a leaf,' whether of paper or of a tree. *ḥāṭēni illi kēndi*, 'they are leaves which they eat' (referring to cabbage); *nāūrā cōnā ḥāṭāntā*, 'the boy sought for the papers.' Also 'a writing, document,' especially 'a magic spell': *inkér ābāškā ḥāṭāk*, *ḥālli mu-jāllā ḥōcer*, 'make a spell against him, let him become mad.' *Ujāldōm ābrān<sup>1</sup> ḥāṭāk—Nī ārā āmīnkā ḥāṭāk—Āmā 'ājib hrōmi, ujāldōmus Holādsān*. 'I sent you a letter—No letter came to us—I am surprised, I sent it with Khālid.'
468. *ḥāṭ-fēnnā*, 'a writing-striker,' i.e. 'a *ḥaṭīb*, the clerk, teacher, and religious leader of a Palestinian village.
469. *ḥāwāzā* (Ar.), 'a gentleman.'
470. *ḥāzār*, 'to laugh.' *kēkā ḥāzēh?* 'why do you laugh?' *āme ḥāzāni ātāstā*, 'we are laughing at him'; *zārō ḥāzrā lāmīnā āwādā gāl-kerdā ēgāli*, 'the boy laughed when the old man said that word.'
471. *ḥāzn* (Ar.), 'a treasure.'
472. *ḥāznāūr*, causative of *ḥāzār*, 'to make to laugh, amuse.'
473. *ḥālim-kerār*, 'to imprison,' xlv. 16.
474. *ḥīm* (Ar.), 'a chicken-coop.'
475. *ḥīrib-kerār*, *ḥrīb-kerār*. See *ḥārāb-kerār*.
476. *ḥlaf* (Ar.), 'another, a substitute.' *kābl-mā gārā Till-uyārtā kan nāmūs Ḥāsāni, lūkin pēndā ḥlaf nam ābāškā uyārmā, pēndā nāmās Māḥmūd*, 'before he went to Damascus his name was Ḥasan, but he took him another name in the city, he took the name Maḥmūd.' With the pronom. suffixes as *ḥlafēsān*, 'instead of them.'
477. *ḥlāūr*, causative of *ḥālār*, which see: 'to cause to descend, to lower.' *ḥlāurdōm kāziā min pištīnki*, 'I lowered the log from my back': 'to pitch a tent,' xv. 12. *kīri*

<sup>1</sup> Note the abbreviation for *ābrānkā*.

- hlāũari górwak kăhryémă*, 'he causes milk to descend from the cow into a vessel,' 'he milks the cow.'
478. *hlif* (Ar.), 'recompense,' as in the imprecation, lxxx. 36.
479. *hlós-kerăr* (Ar. *hlúlăš*, 'he finished'), 'to finish.' *nĩ hlós-kerăr kámôm lissă*, 'my work is not finished yet.'
480. *hōf* (Ar.), 'fear': used as a conjunction, 'for fear, lest,' lxiii. 8.
481. *hrēz*, 'a cock.'
482. *hri*, 'heart, breast.' *hrōr*, 'thy breast'; *gálos ũhă kámăski hlúldă hrēmámă*, 'the news of that business has sunk into our hearts'; *hrúntă (hrúmtă) părdômi*, 'I am sad' (*lit.* 'I have taken to heart'), also 'to be enraged,' liii. 16, lvi. 9. Transitivity, 'to console': *tă-părdănd hărăsmă*, lvi. 4.
483. *hrib-hócer* (Ar.), 'to be ruined.'
484. *hsără* (Ar.), 'a loss.'
485. *hăgi*, 'a pig.'
486. *hwjôti*, 'yesterday.'
487. *hlúlăr*, 'to descend, fall.' *hlúldă inhăr siriúski*, 'blood fell from his head'; *ămă hlúldôm mnótăn (mĩn ătân) hă-tăyăski*, 'I leaped down from the wall.' 2nd sing. pres. by metathesis *ăhllek*, lxxv. 11.
488. *Húrkăldă*, 'a Druze': in the plur., 'the land of the Druzes.'
489. *hurm*, 'a small hole, eye.' *săik húrmos*, 'a needle's eye.'
490. *húrăsmă*. See *hri*.
491. *Hăyă*, 'God, heaven, sky.'
492. *Hăyăš-sikă*, 'God's voice,' 'thunder.'
493. *hăzăk-kerăr* (Ar.), 'to pierce, bore.'

## I

494. *ibkără*, 'hungry.'
495. *ibkarwăă*, 'hunger': generally used in abl. plur. *ibkărwă-ănkĩ* [they perished] 'from hunger.' See *Grammar*, § 40, *Obs.*
496. *ibrínă*. See *brínă*.
497. *ibsăš*, 'a mixture of flour and oil.'
498. *ibsut-hócer* (Ar. *băsăf*, 'he was content'), 'to be satisfied, content, happy.' Preterite 3rd sing. *ibsută*.
499. *ibť* (Ar.), 'arm-pit.' See sentence quoted under *găză*.
500. *ibăm* (Ar.), 'a buckle.'

501. *idnórǎ*, 'a quarter dollar, quarter majidi.' See *imhîlǎ*.
502. *idrǎk*, 'grapes.'
503. *idrǎkikkǎki*, 'belonging to grapes.'
504. *ihî*, proclitic demonstrative feminine: see *Grammar*, § 67.
505. *ihris-kerǎr*, 'to smash, destroy.'
506. *iki*, 'an eye.' *bēn ikiēski*, 'between his eyes'; *ikiēsmǎ*, 'on his eyes'; *ihǎ mǎnus sūdōs bēn ikiēski*, 'that man's happiness is between his eyes,' i.e. he is very fortunate. Also 'the evil eye': see sentence quoted under *far*.
507. *iki-kǎštōti*, 'the little-eyed thing,' i.e. a mouse.
508. *ikji*, 'the blade of a knife.' *ciri tǎrǎn ikji minjt*, 'a knife with three blades.'
509. *ikpēs*. See *kǎpǎ*.
510. *iktǎf* (Ar.), 'a bond.' *cindǎ iktǎfēs ciriēmǎ*, 'he cut his bonds with the knife,' lxi. 22.
511. *iktǎr*, 'to bind.' *iktōssǎn pǎeīs*, 'he bound them (his arms) behind him,' xxiii. 8; *iktōr fāsádi*, 'thou didst bind the quarrel, set them quarrelling,' lxxvi. 33.
512. *ikbǎl* (Ar. *kabl*), 'before, in front of.'
513. *illi* (Ar.), rel. pron., 'which.' See *Grammar*, § 70.
514. *imbēssir* (Ar.), 'a messenger.'
515. *imeirǎr*, 'to kiss.'
516. *imgǎldǎ*, 'naked.'
517. *imh-*. See *mî*.
518. *imhîlǎ*, 'a majidi, a Turkish dollar' (worth about 3s. 4d.).
519. *imkǎri-hócer* (Ar.), 'to get the better of, deceive.'
520. *imsǎh-kerǎr* (Ar.), 'to wipe, clean, wash.'
521. *in* (Ar.), 'if.'
522. *in-*, present-future negative prefix: see *Grammar*, § 87, 89.
523. *injil-hócer* (Ar. *nefēl*, 'he broke into'), 'to break into, communicate with' (a passage). Preterite *infǎdrǎ*.
524. *inhir*, 'blood.'
525. *inhirik-ǎlǎsmǎ*, abbrev. for *inhirik elhǎsmǎ*, 'in the blood-prison,' a specially stringent place of confinement for serious criminals. The translation adopted in the examples 'condemned cell' is not strict, as the prisoner is not necessarily to be executed: it is, however, close enough to be convenient.
526. *injir*, 'a fig, fig-tree.'
527. *inwi* (Ar.), 'that, how.' *sindǎ tillǎ-tmǎli inni hǎ tmǎli illi šǎrkǎsmēk mǎrǎ*, lvi. 3: often used to introduce a

quoted speech, as *hărăf-kerde inni* 'mindéndmăn,' i. 12. *cird' amákă inni hăwáză nî hrênde*, 'he said to me that "the gentleman is not here."' Also used for 'if': *inni nî kerdési éfeni, mărłómrăn*, 'if you do so I will kill you.'

528. *insî-kerăr* (Ar.), 'to forget.' *nu insî-ker égălăn*, 'do not forget those words.'

529. *inşállăh* (Ar.), 'If God will,' i.e. I hope so.

530. *inşıl-kerăr, inşâl-kerăr* (Ar.), 'to draw up,' as a bucket from a well.

531. *intă-kerăr*, 'to stretch' (?); *intă-kerdă hălôs*, lxxvi. 44.

532. *isăm*, 'now.'

533. *isti*, imperative of *star*, which see.

534. *iþbuķ-hócer* (Ar.), 'to shut up, close up.'

535. *iză-kán* (Ar.), 'if'; more literally, 'if it were [that].' Occasionally shortened to *kan*.

536. *izgándă*, 'a tent-peg.'

## J

537. *jădnăinnă*, 'pepper.' Shâkir rejected this word, substituting *wisnăinnă*.

538. *jălăwă*, 'a cloak,' the outer garment of the fellahin.

539. *jămě*. See *žămě*.

540. *jănăr*, 'to know.' *ămă jăndómi gūzél arări amákă*, 'I know well that you have come for me'; *jănək gálnă-kerăr Túrki?* 'can you speak Turkish?' *tállă-tmáli jăndək ıllı lăci dırusi*, 'the king knows that the girl is his daughter.'

541. *jănăuăr*, causative of *jănăr*, 'to inform.'

542. *jândir, jândri*, 'a mill.'

543. *jar*, 'to go.' See paradigm in *Grammar*, § 122. Also 'to try, attempt': *ăudă gără gál-keră*, 'the old man tried to speak.' As an auxiliary to express futurity: *găre părinđi dăwăđ mněšim*, 'they were going to take the camel from me'; *bôtor jăndək gără jări*, 'your father knows that he wants to go.' A curiously pleonastic expression is *kėkă gărăr jak kérék* (lit. 'What are you going to go to do?'). 'What are you about to do?' But this may be due to Turkish influence, -*jak* being the syllable which implies futurity in the Turkish verb.

544. *játro*, 'a son-in-law.'  
 545. *jūn*, 'barley.'  
 546. *jěūār*, 'to bite.' See sentence quoted under *dōndā*.  
 547. *jěūtri*, 'a wife's sister.'  
 548. *jěūtro*, 'a wife's brother.' *jěūtriiskārā* is directive with  
 pronom. suff. xxxviii. 17.  
 549. *jēb*. See *žēb*.  
 550. *jějūn-hōcer*, 'to become pregnant.'  
 551. *jějēuni*, 'pregnant.'  
 552. *jīb*, 'tongue,' both the organ and speech. *jībōmān Dōmāri*,  
 'our language is Nuri.'  
 553. *jēndir*, 'the moon.'  
 554. *jāār*, *jāri*, 'a woman.' See *Grammar*, § 47.  
 555. *jāi*, 'a louse.'  
 556. *jumārdā* (Ar. *zāmārāḏā*, 'an emerald'), 'green.'  
 557. *jāri*. See *jāār*.

## K

558. *ka*, interrog. 'where?' less commonly 'what?' *ka kérék ha*  
*kāmāsmā*, 'what are you doing in this business?' 'what  
 affair is it of yours?'  
 559. *kācel*, 'a vegetable marrow.'  
 560. *kācellā*, 'bald.'  
 561. *kācinnā*, 'a liar'; *kācinnēni*, 'they are liars,' vii. 9.  
 562. *kācinniš*, 'falsehood.'  
 563. *kācēūār*, 'to discredit.'  
 564. *kāhri*, *kāhri*, 'a cooking-pot.' Loc. *kāhryēmā*; abl. *kāhryāki*.  
 565. *kāh wāl*, 'gunpowder.'  
 566. *kājjič*, 'a man,' almost always 'a gentile,' the *gājo* of European  
 Romani. In i. 17 it is used exceptionally of Nawar.  
 Directive with indef. art. *kājjičkāškā*, xlix. 6. *kājji*, 'a  
 woman.'  
 567. *kājjičkāki*, 'the property of gentiles,' xxv. 4. See *kāki*.  
 568. *kājji*, 'a woman.' See *kājjič*.  
 569. *kāki*, 'property.' *bédāl kākāśānki*, 'instead of their property,'  
 xi. 14. Most frequently used in composition, as described  
 in *Grammar*, § 44.  
 570. *kāl*, 'skin.' *dīrde kálos*, 'they split his skin, wounded  
 him.'



571. *kālāūār*, 'to shake.' *kālāūardā siriōs sāšmā*, 'he shook his head in sleep.'
572. *kālāwā*, 'dried figs.'
573. *kāli*, 'a goat.' The *a* generally shortens in the oblique cases, as *kāliāmmā*, xiii. 3.
574. *kāli*, 'a strap.'
575. *kāliānkāki*, 'a cave.' See *Grammar*, § 44.
576. *kāliān-kēnnā*, 'a goat-eater,' i.e. a wolf.
577. *kāliān-kuri*, 'a sheep-pen, cave.'
578. *kālīf-hōcer* (Ar.), 'to cost, pay': abbreviated to *kālīfōcer*. *mīngāri des hōt zerd kālīfōcer ātsāntā*, 'he wants to pay them seventeen pounds,' xxxi. 10; *kālīf-hri lāci pōūistā wīs u tārān zerd*, 'the girl cost her husband twenty-three pounds,' xl. 19.
579. *kām* (Ar. 'how much?'), 'what?' *mīn kām dēsāski*, 'from what place?' xlv. 3. Also 'how many': '*a kām dīs*, 'for how many days?'
580. *kam*, 'work': generally smiths' work, but loosely used of business, affairs, amount, etc., as *che tīrde giš āhā kāmās*, 'these paid all that amount,' xxii. 7; *tāwābre ēkāmāstā*, 'they ceased from that occupation' (highway robbery), xvi. 18. *kāmāk*, 'a piece of work,' xiv. 2. The word seems to be feminine.
581. *kāmār*, 'to work': not common, *kām-kerār* being used instead.
582. *kām-kerār*, 'to work.'
583. *kām-kernā*, 'a workman,' especially 'a smith.' *kuriēsāntā gūre kām-kerne būd kāmāski*, 'the workmen went to their houses after work.'
584. *kan* (Ar.), 'was': see *Grammar*, § 116. Not inflected in Nuri, except that the 3rd sing. fem. *kānet* appears in xcii. 1.
585. *kan*, 'an ear.' *dēm kánūr*, 'give me your ear,' i.e. attend, pay heed. Also 'the handle' of a vessel: *kānos bāgīrik*, 'its handle is broken.'
586. *kan* (Ar.), 'if': short for *i-ā-kān*, which see. *kan māngēk bōl, dēmri*, xxxiii. 12. *kānūlrā bēn kaliēnkā kan māndūndi*, 'he looked between the sheep [to see] if they had left [anything],' c. 26.
587. *kānār*, 'to pluck, tear.' *kānde īkiēs*, 'they tore out his eyes.'

588. *kānāwi*, 'a jar': *nīm kānāwi gir*, xxii. 2.  
 589. *kand*, 'a fork': *kāndos māsīāk*, 'a meat-fork.'  
 590. *kand*, 'throat.'  
 591. *kāndūfēnnā*, 'a pair of tongs'; also *k.-fēnnās āgik*, 'fire-tongs.'  
 592. *kan-dārgi*, 'a hare.' See *lūhri*.  
 593. *kānīd-hōcer* (Ar. *kānīd*, 'he followed'), 'to look': preterite *kanīdrā*.  
 594. *kānīlā*, 'a piastre.' *indēim štar u štar kānīlā*, 'give me eight piastres.'  
 595. *kānīs-kerār* (Ar.), 'to sweep' with a broom.  
 596. *kāpi* (Turkish *kāpā*), 'a door, gate': 'the mouth of a vessel.'  
 597. *kārm* (Ar.), 'a vineyard.'  
 598. *kārri*, 'worth.' *kārri mālat gōnīski zērdi*, 'worth the full of a bag of gold,' xcv. 10.  
 599. *kāršēni*, 'lead' (metal). Perhaps the *-ēni* is the predic. suff., the word being simply *kārš*.  
 600. *kārri*, 'a reward.'  
 601. *kāšnis*, 'a lie': for *kācnis*.  
 602. *kātāfue* (Arabic *kēttif*, with shortened pred. suff.), 'they are bound.'  
 603. *kāti*, interrog., 'where?' lvii. 9. Also in phrase *wēsti unktmin kāti dīs*, 'stay with us a few days,' where *kāti* is a translation of Arabic *kam*, 'how many?' which has likewise lost its interrogative sense in this phrase.  
 604. *kāti*, 'a lemon.'  
 605. *kātyās* (Arabic *kāddēš*), 'how much.' As *kātyās sā'a* [= Arabic *kāddēš eš-sā'a*], 'what o'clock is it?'  
 606. *kāw*, 'the bed of a river.' *lāherde wādīā dīrā inhe° kāwōs*, 'they saw that the valley was not very deep' (*lit.* that its bed was not far). Also 'a sieve,' xcii. 23, 24.  
 607. *kāwuh*, interrog., 'when?' *kāwuh gūrēsi rāwāhōsi*, 'when are you going to go?'  
 608. *kāzma* (Ar. *kāddām*), 'an adze.'  
 609. *kē*, *kēi*, *kēik*, 'what?' *kē kērēk*, 'what are you doing?'  
     Loc. *kēmā kīnēk ārās*, 'for how much will you sell these?'  
     In xiii. 8 *kē* is for *ka*, 'where?' Abl. *kēiski*, 'whence, why?' In *kēik* (as *kēik namūr*, 'what is your name?') the *-ik* is probably the indef. art. Directive *kēkš*, 'why?' Dat. (of *kēik*) *kēkātš*. In xxiii. 13, *kēkš* is 'what?' *kē inkērān ēmujašmā*, 'what will we do with this fool?'

610. *kéci*, 'a flea.'
611. *kefénni*, 'a shroud.'
612. *kéi*, *kéik*, *kékă*, *kékăttă*. See *kē*.
613. *kělăr*, 'to play.' *kělăwăr*, 'to cause to play,' e.g. to make bears or monkeys perform tricks.
614. *kéli*, 'clothes.'
615. *kéră*, *kéri*, 'a maker' of anything: as *băhlik-keră*, 'a preparer of fried meat.'
616. *Kérăk*, the town of Kerak. Abl. *Kérăkăki*.
617. *kérăr*, 'to make, do.' For its auxiliary use, see *Grammar*, § 117. Also to 'pretend': *kérări ũhă illi wēsŕêk jāneri zē édiănanki illi gâl-kerăndi*, 'that man sitting there pretends to understand like the two who are speaking.'
618. *kéttif-kerăr* (Ar.), 'to bind.'
619. *kicilă*, 'a beshlik,' a coin worth about 6d.
620. *kîfă* (Ar. *kîf*), 'how?' *kîfă hrări*, 'how are you?' Also *kîfăni*, as in *kîfăni hălăr*, 'how are you?'
621. *kilăr*, 'to rise up, to climb.' *kildă šăŕrétă*, 'he climbed the tree.' 'To dawn' (day): *kildă dīs*, *kildă săbă*, 'day, morning dawned.' 'To come out': *kildă min kăriăki*, 'he came out from the house.' 'To grow': *kildă gas*, 'the grass grew.' Used transitively in xii. 3, *kônă kildis*, 'who roused it?' [a quarrel].
622. *kilăwăr*, causative of *kilăr*, 'to raise.' *siske sisôsăn kilăwăndi šăŕrémă*, 'the birds are singing in the tree'; *kilăwăni ũgi*, 'I cause a fire to rise,' i.e. blow it up.
623. *kindă*, 'whither?' *kindă gărări*, 'where are you going?'
624. *kinén*, *kinénă*, 'whither?' *kinén găre kălie?* 'where have the goats gone?' *kinénă gărări*, 'where are you going?'
625. *kir*, *kiri*, 'cheese, milk.'
626. *kirwă*, 'a fish, locust, worm, leech.' *păntăk kirwă kundémă nimeri*, 'the water-fish that catches in the throat' (a leech, which often catches incautious drinkers at wells and springs).
627. *kirwi*, interrog. particle, 'what is the matter?'
628. *kisib-hôcer* (Ar.), 'to gain, win': preterite, *kisibrên*, xxxv. 16.
629. *kîtă*, 'lame.'
630. *kitră*, 'what? how much?' *kitră dëssăn măsăsmă éŕătankă*, 'how much (wages) do you give these fellahin in the month?'

631. *kíyǎ*, 'a thing': commonest with indef. art. *kíyák*, *kíyǎk*.  
The art. indeed has become so completely fused with it that the article survives in the plural, as *kíyákǎn*, vii. 12, and the word can even take a double indef. art., as *kíyákák*, xxi. 7. *ní . . . kíyák*, 'nothing.'
632. *klínnǎ*. See *kólínnǎ*.
633. *kólǎr*, 'to loosen.' *kóldóssǎn*, 'he loosed them,' xlix. 13: passive *kólǎrǎ*, 'he was set free,' li. 7. 'To dig' a grave: *kóldǎ málkǎdǎ ábúskǎ*, 'he dug a grave for him.' 'To fall,' of rain: *wǎrsíndǎ ámíntǎ kóldǎ*, xxxv. 20.
634. *kólínnǎ*, *klínnǎ*, 'a box, a key.' *kólínnǎ mín kúziák*, 'a wooden box.'
635. *kómǎr*, 'charcoal.'
636. *kōn*, 'who? what?': interrog., indeclinable, as *kōn désǎstǎ?* 'to what place?'
637. *kónǎ*, 'who? what?' *kónǎ kíldis*, 'who roused it?'
638. *kóník*, 'who?' Probably *kónǎ* with the indef. art.: *kóník járóm*, 'who is my neighbour?' xxxiii. 3.
639. *kónúski*, 'whence, from what cause?' *kónúski úhǎ lágiš*, xix. 3. Abl. of *kónǎ*.
640. *kōr*, 'blind, one-eyed.'
641. *kotǎ-kerǎr* (Ar.), 'to cut, divide.'
642. *kótík*, 'a cup.' *pǎr kótikos kírwíák*, *pǎr génǎ kótíkak*, 'take a cup of coffee, take another cup.'
643. *kré-kerǎr*, 'to hire.'
644. *krén*, *krénǎ*, *kréní*, 'where? whither?' *krénǎ gǎrǎrǎ?* *Uyǎrtǎ*, 'where are you going? To the town.'
645. *krámbi* (in Egypt. Ar., a cabbage), 'cauliflower.'
646. *kšálǎr*, 'to draw, drag, pull, lead an animal.' *kšáldǎ sálǎs*, 'he pulled the rope,' lvii. 3; *kšáldómsi*, 'I conducted it' (the camel), x. 2; *kšáldómis*, 'I dragged her' (woman), iii. 5. Sometimes constructed with locative, as *ní kšǎlǎ° ákeímmǎ*, 'do not pull on my beard,' xxxii. 4. Compare the use of the locative after *far*.
647. *ktuf* (Ar.), 'a bond.'
648. *ktí*, 'how many?' *ktí wǎrs ábúr* (abbrev. for *ábúrkǎ*), 'how many years have you, how old are you?' *ktí sǎsǎ úrǎrǎ*, 'how many hours (journey) have you come?' *ktí kǎnǎlǎ párlǎr górwǎn?* 'for how many piastres have you bought the cows?' *ktí zǎrō ánkír?* 'how many children have you?'

649. *ktīb-kerār* (Ar. *kātīb*, 'he wrote'), 'to write.'
650. *ktīf-kerār* (Ar.), 'to bind.'
651. *ktīr*, 'a European, a Christian, a monk': in lxiv. 4, *ktīri*; associative *ktīrāsān*, lxiv. 5.
652. *ktīrānkāki*, 'a church.' See *Grammar*, § 44.
653. *kuc*, 'a chin'; *kucūm-wāli*, 'my beard.' Also 'beard.'
654. *kūḷ*, 'when?' *kūḷ āwāsi unktīmān*, 'when will you come to us?' *kūḷ bēs:āw-kerēk bārūr tillās*,<sup>1</sup> 'when will you marry [cause to marry] your big brother.'
655. *kūāūr*, 'to fall.' *kūāūr dīsān pndār*, 'snow fell during the day'; *bīrōmi dāwāntā kūāādi*, 'I fear that the camels may fall.' Of a share of plunder, 'to fall to the lot of': *kullmānēškā kūāūrā bāwōs*, 'to every one fell his share,' xiii. 17.
656. *kúkeri*, 'a puppy.'
657. *kull* (Ar.), 'each, all, every.'
658. *kulléki*. In lxxvi. 11 *mātlīf hrōmi min kulléki* was translated to me, 'I am weary with hunger': but the sense seems to be, according to the sense of the Arabic words borrowed, 'I am set free from everything.'
659. *kúll-mā* (Ar.), 'all that, all which' (and the like), 'whenever, the whole time that, while,' lxix. 15.
660. *kúllmān* (Ar. *kull min*, 'all of'), 'all, everyone': declined like an ordinary substantive: directive *kúllmānēškā* or *kúllmānāškā*. *Tillā-tmāli barēs intōssān kúllmānās tillā-kerdōssān*, 'the king gave each of his brothers an important office' (lit. gave them that he made them great).
661. *kullmānhum* (Ar. *kull minhum*, 'all of them'), 'all, everyone.' Used in Nuri without special reference to the third person: as *tīrdā kullmānhum mnēscān zērdā zērdā*, 'every one of us paid a pound apiece.'
662. *kúlliyikā* (Ar. *kull*, with Nuri *yikā*), 'everyone': also *kúlliyikāk*. Declined like a substantive, *kúlliyikākāski*, etc.
663. *kúnār*, 'to sell.'
664. *kunīnnā*, 'a merchant.'
665. *kúnjā*, 'a pillow.'
666. *kúpā*, 'a jar': by metathesis *ikpēs*, lxxvi. 87.
667. *kūr*, 'a bellows.'
668. *kúri*, 'a house, tent, room.' A feminine word.

<sup>1</sup> Note unusual declension of adjective.

669. *kári*, 'one-eyed.' See *kōr*.
670. *kúriāk-lāurins*, 'a tent-pole.'
671. *kúriāk-sāui*, 'a master of a house.'
672. *kuriēs-kārānki*, 'a donkey-house,' i.e. a khan, inn. Shortened for *kuriēsan-k*.
673. *kursāhi*, 'rheumatism.'
674. *kúrtā*, 'short.' *wārsindēmā dīs kurtéki*, 'in winter the day is short.'
675. *kāš*, 'a time, occasion': used like *hāterā* to form the frequentative numerals. *Ūhū mānūs kūrā tārān kūs zāmānismā: kēi ihrā minjts yōm-in kūrāri? Āwāl hāterā āre klārēni, pārde kiyākēs u mändlēndis imgōldā. Tāni hāterā kāumēs mānindse mra°, pārdlēndis tā-mōlēndis. Lāmmā tīrdlēndis mālkdādmā, kildā min mālkdādmā u bīre māte u nāsre. Tūlit hāterā kūrā dīsān āgmā, inhe° mať ūnkīs, illi lāheris tā-pēnāris āgiki. Lāmmān āre māte gārīre, nī lāherde mnēs kiyāk gāw wāšrēk u hārēs dīlōsi.* 'That man fell three times in his life: the first time came the bedawin, took his things and left him naked. The second time his family thought him dead, took him to bury him. When they put him in the grave, he rose from the grave and the people feared and fled. The third time he fell one day in the fire, there was no one with him to see him to take him from the fire. When the people came and returned, they saw nothing but ashes and the cinders of his bones.'
676. *kāšt*, 'firewood.'
677. *kāštōtā*, 'small, little.'
678. *kāštōtā-pāfilā*, 'a quarter kabak' (a copper coin worth about  $\frac{1}{4}$  farthing).
679. *kāštōtā-yējir*, 'a foal.'
680. *kāštōti-gōrā*, 'a calf.'
681. *kāštōti-kukeri*, 'a puppy.'
682. *kāzi*, 'a log, timber,' usually wood for carpentry, as opposed to *kāšt*, 'firewood.' *kōlīnnāk min kāziāk*, 'a wooden box'; *šālās dāwāitā kiyākān-kāziā*, 'put the box of things on the camel.'
683. *kāziāk-dirīnmā*, 'a saw.'
684. *kwākūrā*, 'round.' *sāp kwākrik mītl wīrgā, tīrdik sīrios pištistā*, 'the snake was round like a ring, its head put on its back.'

685. *kwar*, causative of *kūrār*, 'to cause to fall, throw down'; *kwāsis*, xxxvi. 7; *ni kva°*, lxvii. 4. In lxiii. 8 *kowa* or *kwa* seems to mean 'take heed lest,' and is probably a different word.
686. *kwar*, 'to cast, throw'; also *kūrār*. Preterite *kúrdā* (to be distinguished from *kérdā*).

## K

687. *kādām* (Ar. *kāddām*, 'before'). Properly a preposition or adverb, 'before'; but capable of being declined as though 'in the presence of': *kādāmkā āmākā*, 'to my presence.'
688. *kādām* (Ar.), 'a footprint, step,' lxix. 15.
689. *kādām-hócer* (Ar.), 'to advance towards, come into the presence of.'
690. *kādd-mā* (Ar.), 'as much as': used for comparison of equality.
691. *kādīhi* (Ar. *kādīh*), 'tinder.'
692. *kāf* (Ar.), 'palm of hand, paw.'
693. *kāfīri* (Ar.), 'an infidel.'
694. *kāgāt* (Turkish), 'a letter, a book.'
695. *kāh-kerār* (Ar. *kāhkhā*), 'to cough.'
696. *kāl* (Ar.), 'he said.' Used in Nuri without inflections.
697. *kāl*, 'skin.'
698. *kālā*, 'black.'
699. *kālbā*, a word to which the pronom. suffixes are added to form the reciprocal pronouns; see *Grammar*, § 73. *lāherdēsa° kālbāōrān*, 'you cannot see one another'; *blāri u snōtā mangānde° kālbāōsān*, 'the cat and the dog do not love one another.'
700. *kāli-emāri*, 'a turkey.'
701. *kānār*, 'to strip.' *īsti, kān kēlar, sāci*, 'rise, take off thy clothes, (and) sleep.'
702. *kānd*, 'a thorn.'
703. *kāndilā*, 'a prickly pear, cactus.'
704. *kār*, 'a donkey, a mule.' *kārās-īmlās*, 'the price of a donkey'; *kāri*, 'a she-ass.'
705. *kār*, 'to eat.' See paradigm in *Grammar*, § 122.
706. *kārādīš*, 'a head of millet.'
707. *kārān-kēnuč*, 'a donkey-eater,' i.e. a wolf. Cf. *kālān-kēnuč*.

708. *kārān tilli-gōri*, 'a mule.' *lāherdēn maṭēni kōldēndi kārān tilli gōrēni* (sic), 'we saw people riding mules.' But the Arabic *bāḡl* is more commonly used.
709. *kāri*, 'a she-ass.' See *kār*.
710. *kārīb, kārībī* (Ar.), 'near, neighbourly.'
711. *kārmī*, 'itch.'
712. *kārtālō* (Ar.), 'a hammock.'
713. *kārtān-hōcer* (Ar.), 'to be quarantined,' as Egyptians generally are when endeavouring to enter Palestine.
714. *kāsr* (Ar.), 'a castle.'
715. *kātā*, 'vinegar.'
716. *kātēāsi* (Ar. *kaddēš*), 'how much?' *k. wārsār*, 'how old are you?'
717. *kaṭf* (Ar.), 'a bunch' of fruit.
718. *kāw*, 'a mosque, shrine.' *gārā kātūāstā*, 'he went to the mosque.'
719. *kāwī* (Ar.), 'strong.'
720. *kāwāne, kāwī*. See *kāntiši*, 'plunder'; also 'a secret.' See sentence quoted under *hunn-hōcer*.
721. *kāwum, kāwūmī* (Ar.), 'a pile, heap'; also 'a family, tribe, crowd.'
722. *kāwt*, 'a thief': *kāwtēni*, 'they are thieves.'
723. *kāwtār*, 'a hyæna.' *kāwtāri*, lix. 6, properly 'a she-hyæna,' but probably used loosely.
724. *kāwtār*, 'to steal.' *lāherdōm illi kāwtārēndi*, 'I saw the things that are stolen.'
725. *kāwti*, 'a female thief': *kāwtiēni*, 'they (women) are thieves.'
726. *kāwtinnā*, 'a thief': *kāwtinnēni*, 'they are thieves,' vii. 5.
727. *kāwtiš, kāwtiši*, 'stolen goods, plunder': in lxiii. 2 abbreviated to *kāwēi*; in xlvii. a plural *kāwāne* appears.
728. *kāwra* (Ar.), 'power.'
729. *kāwrum-hōcer* (Ar. *kāwum*), 'to be piled up.'
730. *kəfil-hōcer* (Ar. *kəfil*, 'a surety'), 'to make or become surety.'
731. *kəu*, 'a pig.' Doubtful word.
732. *kəwāwār*, causative of *kəw*, 'to feed': followed by accus. of the food, as *kəwāwārōssān mōnā*, iii. 6.
733. *kēs*, 'food': accus. *kēs* (xviii. 2) or *kēsās* (xxix. 5), the former being commoner.
734. *kēs-kəwār*, 'to prepare food, to cook.'
735. *kīrwā, kīrwāri*, 'bitter.'



736. *kirwi*, 'coffee': also 'a café' (the Arabic *kāhweh* has both meanings). See *gúldi*.
737. *kíšli* (Ar.), 'a barracks.' With pronom. suffix, lvii. 1.
738. *klárǎ*, 'a bedawi, a nomad Arab.' Sometimes pronounced *krárǎ*.
739. *kláũār*, causative of *kólǎr*, 'to cause to ride, give a mount to': *kláũardósis*, xxxiii. 10. Also 'to raise [*i.e.* to cause] a noise.' See quotation under *sas*.
740. *kláũínnǎ*, 'a stirrup.'
741. *kléri*, 'a female Bedawi.'
742. *klínnǎ*, 'a ladder.'
743. *kōk-fénnǎ*, 'a muezzin,' the mosque attendant who summons to prayer.
744. *kōl*, 'an arm.'
745. *kōl-ǎhár*, 'armpit.'
746. *kólǎr*, 'to ride.' *láherdēn illi kōldéndi tínnǎ kǎréni*, 'we saw those who were riding appear like donkeys' (in a mist). Also 'to embark' on a ship: *kōldēn pán ōuk-dengízma*, xxvi. 11.
747. *kōm*. See *kāum*.
748. *kónǎr*, 'to strike' (tents). *kónǎs kúriũn*, 'lower the tents.'
749. *krí-kerǎr*, 'to read.'
750. *kǎbr* (Ar.), 'a grave.'
751. *kǎfǎ* (Ar. *kāffeh*), 'a basket.'
752. *kurn* (Ar.), 'a horn.' Also 'a pod.'
753. *kúss-kerǎr* (Ar.), 'to cut.'
754. *kúwǎsi*, 'a fit.'

## L

755. *l'* See *li*.
756. *la* (Ar.), 'no, not.' *la hrósmǎn*, 'he did not suffer us,' iii. 11; *la . . . wǎlǎ*, 'neither . . . nor'; *la kǎrēn wǎlǎ pířēn*, xlv. 12.
757. *la* (Ar. *lāu*), 'if, even though.'
758. *láci*, *lǎci*, 'a girl.'
759. *lágiš*, 'a quarrel, dispute.'
760. *lágiš-kerǎr*, 'to quarrel, dispute with, scold.' With associative of person quarrelled with: as *lágiš-kerdōm bōwóssǎn*, 'I quarrelled with her father.' Also used absolutely, 'to make a disturbance,' or the like.

761. *lāhānār*, causative of *lāher*, 'to cause to see, show'; cf. *dikunānār*. *āmā lāhānānri kiyāk nī lāherdōris*, 'I will show you something you have not seen.'
762. *lāher*, 'to see.' *lak māpān illi wēsēndi*, 'you see the people sitting there'; *āmā nī lāherdōmsān*, 'I did not see them'; *lāherdā bātasmā kāmānātk bārdik zērdi*, 'he saw in the earth a jar full of gold'; *iñhe° yikāk illi māngāri lāher firēk*, 'no one likes to see [himself] beaten': a circumlocution expressing the pass. infin. 'to be beaten.'
763. *lahisi*, 'stars.' A doubtful word, evidently meaning 'the seen things.'
764. *lāham*. See *li*.
765. *lāji*, 'disgrace, shame.'
766. *lāji-kerār*, 'to be ashamed.' *nī [sic] lāji-ker mūēšim*, 'do not be ashamed of me.'
767. *lākin* (Ar.), 'but.'
768. *lāki-kerār* (Ar.), 'to meet.'
769. *lālā*, 'dumb.'
770. *lāmā*, *lāmān*, *lāmānū* (Ar.), 'when.' Used in c. 20 in the uncommon sense of 'until, in order to.'
771. *lān*, a compound of *la*, 'if,' and preverbal prefix *in*, 'it.'
772. *lānār*, 'to bring, fetch.' Probably a mere variant of *nānār*. *kēi lānār*, 'which have you brought?'
773. *las*, 'mud.' *āmā māngāmī jam āhā pāndāsmā, āhā pand giš lasēk, bīrēmi dāwānātā kāmānli*, 'I prefer to go on this road, this [other] is all mud, I am afraid the camels will slip.'
774. *lān* (Ar. *la*), 'no, not.' *laherim inūi bōl ānkīm tmālie wa inūi lān*, 'he will see whether I have many soldiers or not,' lvi. 6. As negative answer to a question 'no,' xli. 12. Sometimes induces hamzation in following verb, as in i. 2. It is curious that the ordinary meanings of the Arabic words *la*, 'not,' and *lān*, 'if,' are as a rule interchanged in Nuri. The latter is, however, used for 'if' sometimes, as in l. 6.
775. *lān* (Ar.), 'if.' See *la*, 'if,' and preceding article. In Arabic always, and sometimes in Nuri, used to introduce an impossible condition. See *Grammar*, § 124.
776. *lānā*, 'a stick, rod, pole.' Sometimes pronounced *rañari*.
777. *lānīm* (Ar.), 'necessity, it is necessary.'

778. *leká-kerär*, *leyiká-kerär*, 'to swear an oath.'
779. *li-*, *lä-* (Ar.), proclitic prep. 'to': of place, *li-Rihäckä*, 'to Jericho'; of time, 'until,' *li-āni žim'ā*, 'to the next week,' xxx. 4; of person, after verbs of speaking, *čirdā bizōtā l'-illi drarék*, lviii. 1. With another preposition, *gäre li-āger gēnā*, 'he went a little farther.' Also means 'with,' as *lāhām*, 'with them,' iii. 2 (where *-hām* is Arabic 3rd person plur. pronom. suffix).
780. *li°*, *lihi*, 'iron.' For declension see *Grammar*, § 47. The dat. and loc. sing. are the regular words for 'to prison' and 'in prison' respectively. *āmā fērōmi elhās illi luhřék tǎgijmā*, 'I beat the red iron with a hammer': *āmā fērōmi lúhre elháyān tǎgjánmā*, 'I beat the red irons with hammers.'
781. *limm-kerär* (Ar.), 'to pick up.'
782. *limón* (Ar.), 'a lemon, lemon-tree.' Nom. pl. *limōne*, lxiv. 7.
783. *li°-uktinnā*, 'an anvil.'
784. *lōh* (Ar.), 'a board,' especially 'a threshing-sledge' (a board studded with flint or iron teeth on its under surface and dragged over grain to be threshed. lvi. 11).
785. *lōn*, 'salt.'
786. *lúhrā*, 'red.' *lúhrā illi lōstāstā tiyārā*, 'the red which is put on the hand,' i.e. 'henna': *li° luhřék min āgiki kārūāmā*, 'the iron is red from the fire in the house.'
787. *láhri*, 'a tomato.' According to one narrator the same word was used for a hare (lxxv. 1); but Shákir ridiculed this, giving the word *kan-dārgi*.
788. *Lydd*. The town of Lydd, near Jaffa.

## M

789. *mā* (Ar.), 'not.' *lō mā lāherlōm*, 'if I did not see, unless I saw.'
790. *mādd-kerär* (Ar.), 'to stretch out, lengthen, point [the hand].'
791. *māfātih* (Ar.), 'keys': declined with Nuri inflections, lx. 12.
792. *māhāl* (Ar.), 'a place'; *māhālūrmā āme hrēni, nan zaréskā mōnāk*, 'we are in your place (= we are your guests), get a loaf for the boy.'
793. *māhkanī* (Ar.), 'a bottle tiller.'

794. *māḥmāl* (Ar.), 'the sacred carpet' sent annually in the pilgrimage to Mecca.
795. *māḥrāzi* (Ar. *māḥrāz*), 'an awl.'
796. *māri*, 'female.' See the note on *ātkārā*, which also applies to this word.
797. *mājḥāni*, 'a girdle.'
798. *māj-jūndi*, 'prayer.'
799. *māj-jūr*, 'to pray.' *gārā māj-jūmnār*, 'he went to pray.'
800. *māki kūstōti*, 'a mosquito.'
801. *mākilā*, 'a sand-fly.'
802. *mākili*, 'a house-fly.'
803. *mākinā* (Ar.), 'a machine'; in xci. 24 'a prison,' from the Ar. *mākin*, 'firm, sound, solid.'
804. *Mākkā*, 'Mecca.'
805. *mākkādā*, 'a grave.'
806. *māmā*, 'a wife's father, father-in-law': voc. sing. *māma*, xxviii. 5.
807. *māmi*, 'a wife's mother, mother-in-law.'
808. *mānār*, 'to stay, remain,' a verb capable of a variety of meanings and constructions. Intransitively, as *nī mānde āḥā dēsāsmā*, 'they did not stay in that place.' Also transitively, 'to leave'—about equally common: as *bōṭōm māndōsmān dēikāsmā*, 'my father left us in a village,' liii. 1; *māndā snōtās*, 'he left the dog,' lxiv. 10. The common salutation *Hāyā mānānir* is apparently a corruption of *H. mānārir*, 'God leave you,' i.e. suffer you to remain alive; the contrasting imprecation being *Hāyā impārārir*, 'God take you.' Both are found in Ex. xcii. In the sense of 'to suffer, let, permit': *nī māndēndmān ḥlānān*, 'they did not permit us to pitch [tents],' iii. 8; cf. xxvi. 18. In lx. 2: *dēmi zārāk potērki tā-mānānd bōṭir jējān-hōcānd*, 'give me a boy from your sons that your wives may remain [=become] pregnant,' offers an unusual use of the verb. It also means 'to think, deem, suppose,' if indeed this be not a different verb. In this sense the word seems generally to have the pronominal suffixes, as *mānīndsi kātūtiši*, 'they thought it stolen,' x. 2.
809. *māng*, 'love, desire, affection.'
810. *māngār*, 'to love, desire, want, wish': *tillā-tmāli māngāri dērim ple, āmā kal miš nīḥrom*, 'the king desires to give me money, I said I did not want it.' Also 'to lack': *in*

*ārūr urāti mángāri āmātā kam, wésāmi*, 'if you come to-morrow work will be lacking for me (=I shall be at leisure), I shall be sitting (=idle).'

811. *mángiš*, 'a desire, a petition.'

812. *mángiš-kerār*, 'to beg.'

813. *mangišnā*, 'a beggar.' Properly abbreviated from *mangišinnā*.

814. *máni*, 'a button.' *mānius ikiēs*, 'the iris of the eye.'

815. *mānj*, 'midst, middle, loins.' *na rāuci pāndāsmā mānjismā, céncāki rāuci*, 'do not walk in the middle of the road, walk on the side'; *min kúrišk mānjěski*, 'from inside the house.'

816. *mānjinnwā*, adj. 'middlemost.' *mānjinnwā-potros*, 'her middle son' (second out of three).

817. *mānūs*, 'a man.' See declension in *Grammar*, § 46.

818. *mar*, 'slaughter.'

819. *mārānā, mārnuā*, 'a corpse.'

820. *mārār*, 'to die'; also 'to kill,' the causal, \**mārāuar* or the like, being never used. *āmā bīyāmi inni māri bōom urāti*, 'I fear that my father will die to-morrow.' Pret. 3rd sing. *mra, mra?*, but *mārā* in xxxv. 3. Sometimes figurative, as *mreñi siěski éwars illi níngri*, 'we died of cold last year'; *mārdōsis jěšiki*, 'he killed him with blows,' in both cases an exaggeration.

821. *mārdi*, 'a demon.'

822. *māriš*, 'death.' *kārīb ārék māriš*, 'death is come near.'

823. *mārinā, mārinni*, 'a demon.' With predic. suff. *mārinjék* [for *mārinni-ék*], lxxiv. 10.

824. *mārinā*, 'dead' (passive of *mārār*).

825. *mārnā*. See *mārānā*.

826. *mas, māsī*, 'a month.'

827. *māsī*, 'meat, flesh.' With indef. art., lx. 15, lxii. 12.

828. *māsīšk-đāfos*, 'a vein.'

829. *māsīs* (Ar.), 'thread, cord.'

830. *mast, masti*, 'laban,' i.e. artificially soured milk.

831. *mať*, 'people, inhabitants, persons.' *inhe mať erhōnā*, 'there was no one there'; *děik mať*, 'the people of the village, villagers.'

832. *māum, māumā*, 'a paternal uncle.' Like all words denoting relationship, seldom used without the suitable pronominal suffix. Voc. sing. *māumā*, xv. 13.

833. *mōūmī* 'a paternal aunt.'
834. *mōūnī* (Ar.), 'a minaret.'
835. *mōil-hōer* (Ar.), 'to approach, tend towards.'
836. *mēji*, 'lentils.' *mēji-kēš*, 'lentil food, a lentil stew.'
837. *mēlek* (Ar.), 'a king.'
838. *mēmūr* (Ar. *mā mūr*), 'a sub-governor of a district.' Dat. sing. *mēmūrāstā*, direct. sing. *mēmūrškārā*.
839. *mējel* (Ar.), 'a sickle.'
840. *mēwa*, 'soft.'
841. *mēwīj*, 'a chickpea.' See *dand-bāgīnūā*.
842. *mōgil-hōer*. See *mēil-hōer*.
843. *mī*, 'a face.' See *mā*.
844. *mīhēvī*, 'a light, a candle.'
845. *mīhmōūn*, 'a guest,' xxix. 6.
846. *mīh*, 'a nail' (carpenter's).
847. *mīkrān*, *mīkrēn*, *mīkrēnī*, 'whence?'
848. *mīn* (Ar.), preposition 'from.' With abl., as *mīn Ūjāki* 'from Egypt': with dat., xiii. 19, by an error of speech. *mīn ḡōir* (Ar.), 'without': *mīn ḡōir kīyāki*, 'without a thing,' iv. 6. See *ḡōir*. *mīn-šān* (Ar.), 'for the sake of' a person, 'in order to' do an action. Further uses, all derived with the word from Arabic, are illustrated by *giš māte ḡāre*, *māndā Māhmūd mīn ḡālos*, 'every one went, Mahmud stayed alone': *māw uyārīkā mīn dī wars*, 'stay in the city for the space of two years,' l. 5.
849. *mīn*, 'a rotl,' a measure of weight, about 5 to 6 lbs. See *hātūā*.
850. *mīnūr*, 'to take, capture, gather, collect.' *ḡānān mīnūrī*, 'he is gathering flowers': *mīndēndsān tmālie*, 'the soldiers took them.' 'To pitch' a tent (perhaps a different verb): *mīnūs kārīn*, 'pitch ye the tents': *mīndēk kārīos*, 'his tent was pitched' (this should be *mīndik*, as *kārī* is feminine). 'To touch': *nū mīn ḡāstēm*, 'do not touch my hands.'
851. *mīnūūr*, 'to cause to take.' With directive, as *mīnūūr-dēndsān ḡārānkā*, 'we caused the Bedawin to take them.'
852. *mīnīnūā*, 'a pincers.'<sup>1</sup>
853. *mīnījī*, 'in, on, with, over.' Usually constructed with pronom.

<sup>1</sup> Written *mīnīnūā* in my notes. When one asks a Nuri for the name of an object, the single word of which the answer consists is often hamzated, as in this case.

suffixes, as *minjīm*, *minjīrān*. In the 3rd sing., *minjī* alone is often used instead of *minjīs*, and in xiv. 3 there is yet further abbreviation, *minj*. A variety of relationships is indicated by this preposition: e.g., *boīos wākīli minjīs*, 'her father is in authority over her,' xl. 16; *kūštōtā minjīmān*, 'the small one from among us,' xxxix. 4; *kēkū kérék minjīs*, 'what will you do with him,' xxiii. 13; *māngārdā minjīs nām sū zerā*, 'he wanted fifty pounds for her,' xxii. 5; *hūldā ellāstā minjīsān*, he went down to prison with him'; *sītēn minjīs* 'we slept in it,' xxv. 2.

854. *min-šān*. See *min*.

855. *minšār* (Ar.), 'a saw.'

856. *miritēk*. A word given me by Muḥammad Ḥusēn for 'by luck.' It evidently has the predic. suffix, but I cannot analyse it further.

857. *miš* (Ar.), 'no, not.'

858. *miš nihra°*, *-hre°*, 'he would not.' See *Grammar*, § 119, *Obs*. Always hamzated, even when ending in a consonant, as *miš nihrēn°*.

859. *mīštā*, 'sick, ill.'

860. *mīštā-hócer*, 'to fall sick, ill.'

861. *mīštawiom*, 'I was sick,' xlv. 6.

862. *mišwār* (Ar.), 'a journey.'

863. *miṭl* (Ar.), 'like.' *ātū miṭl zārō hrāri*, 'you are like a boy'; *miṭl-mā* (Ar.), 'like as, just as.'

864. *miúji*, 'chickpea.' See *mēwij*.

865. *mnē*, fem. imperative of *mānā*, 'stay, remain,' l. 5.

866. *mnēš*, preposition, always used with pronom. suffixes 'from, from among.' For *mnēšān* is often substituted *mnēscān*. Sometimes the compounds are formed as though from a prep. *mnēšī*, as *mnēšīs*, *mnēšīsān*. Thus, *pārde mnēšmān plēmān*, 'they took our money from us'; *mnēšmān inhe°*, *min ūhū déik*, 'he is not from among us (one of our people, but) from yonder village.' Like Arabic *min*, used in the sense of 'than' after comparative degree: *kaūte bīrēndi āktār mnēšmān*, 'the thieves were more frightened than we were.'

867. *mōlār*, 'to bury.'

868. *mónā*, 'bread, a loaf.' *nan zaréškā mónāk*, 'hand a loaf to the boy'; *par mónāš*, 'take the loaf.' Declined often as a neuter subst., with *mónā* in the accus., as xxxvii. 6.

869. *mōnā-kerār*, 'to bake bread.'  
 870. *mōnā-keruā*, 'an oven.'  
 871. *mōrār*, 'ants.'  
 872. *mōzā*, 'a boot, shoe.'  
 873. *mu*, 'a face.' The stem of the oblique cases is *imh-* (compare *li*, 'iron,' stem *elh-*). *kājjīēni rōāndi, imhēsāntā fāndi u škā-fāndi*, 'the women are weeping, smiting their faces and screaming.'  
 874. *mājālā* (Ar.), subst. and adj., 'a madman, fool'; also 'mad, crazy, furiously angry, foolish.'  
 875. *mājalā-hōcer*, 'to become mad.'  
 876. *mājārā* (Ar.), 'a cave.'  
 877. *Māgrābi* (Ar.), 'a Moor.'  
 878. *māgrābīgāt* (Ar.), *el-m.*, 'the evening,' lxxii. 11. Also *māgrīb*, xcv. 14.  
 879. *māhlāf* (Ar.), 'save, except.' With abl., *māhlāf tillāski*, 'except the big one.' e. 28.  
 880. *mukēttif* (Ar.), 'bound.'  
 881. *māknisi* (Ar.), 'a broom, brush.'  
 882. *māktā* (Ar.), 'a melon-field.'  
 883. *māš* (Ar.), 'no, not.' See *māš*.  
 884. *māšēmā* (Ar. 'waxed, waterproof'), 'thick' (of cloth).  
 885. *mātār*, 'urine.'  
 886. *mātār-hōcer*, 'to pass urine.'  
 887. *mā'āllākā* (Ar.), 'hanged, suspended.'

## N

888. *na, nu*, the negative of the imperative mood: *na wa ānkīmān*, 'do not come among us.' Loosely used in other connections, as *kēkā na nānālēs*, 'why did you not fetch?'  
 889. *Nāblus*, the town Nablus. Direc. *Nāblusāski*, abl. *Nāblusāk*.  
 890. *nōcār*, 'to dance': *lācie nācēndi hārmānātā*, 'the girls are dancing on the threshing-floor.'  
 891. *nādi-kerār* [Ar. *nāḍā*, 'he called'], 'to call, summon.' *nādi-kerā ānāḍesta zāro dī hāterā*, 'the boy called the old man twice.'  
 892. *nāhab-kerār* (Ar.), 'to steal, seize.'  
 893. *nāhr* (Ar.), 'a river.'  
 894. *nāḥāl* (Ar.), 'a palm-tree.'



895. *nam*, 'a name.'
896. *nānār*, 'to bring, fetch, conduct, get, obtain, take, give; bear [child],' and allied meanings, all depending on the sense of transferring a thing from one place to another. *nān zaréskā mōnāk*, 'fetch [and give] a loaf to the boy'; *nān-dēndsān pāubāginyētā*, 'they led them to the courthouse'; *nāndi jāri zārāk*, 'the woman bore a boy'; *nāndi emāri ānā*, 'the hen laid an egg.'
897. *nānkāūār*, 'to cause to bring, fetch.'
898. *nār* (also *nīr*), 'to send, lead, conduct, guide.' *innēn*, 'we will send,' xxxviii. 15; *nēn*, 'we sent,' xl. 12; fem. imperative *nēyi*, l. 7; *impār ēgēsāwi u ēsalās wā nē sīder bāvikā*, *wā rūūās āderiāki u intēs tāni dēriāmā*, 'take this corn and this rice and send (them) to thy grandfather's wife, and take her from that place and put her in another place'; *gārā tā-nīrsān*, 'he went to send them,' lxxxviii. 16; *nīrdōssān tillu tmalīéskā*, 'he conducted them to the governor.'
899. *nārnā*, 'a man'—properly and almost invariably denoting a Nuri, contrasted with *kājjā*, 'a man of alien race.'
900. *nāsāmāhni* (xlii. 7) is Arabic *iṣmāhni*, 'forgive me,' with prefix *nā*, here otiose.
901. *nāštār*, 'to flee.'
902. *nāṭr*, *nāṭār* (Ar.), 'a watchman.'
903. *nāūār*, 'to seek.' Usually constructed with dative of the thing sought: *āmā nāūrōm ātūrtā*, *nī lāherdōmār*, 'I sought for you, but did not see you'; *nāūrēn tārāne kājjāntā*, 'we sought for the three men.' Probably causal of *nār* (which see), though the sense is considerably modified if so.
904. *nāwā*, 'new.' *kūri nāwik*, 'the house is new.'
905. *nāžē* (Ar. *nāže*), 'a she-camel.'
906. *nejjār* (Ar.), 'a carpenter.'
907. *nī*. Properly the negative of the preterite indie., but sometimes extended in use to the other tenses. *Nī āre ānkīrān*, 'did they not come among you?' Properly does not induce hamzation, but sometimes does so by analogy with *in-*: *nī lāherde°*, i. 7. Prefixed to the subst., in the sense 'not a' followed by preterite: as *nī kājjāk kōldōssān*, 'not a man loosened them.' With present tense, *nī biyāni°*, 'we do not fear,' iv. 12.

908. *nīlo*, 'there is not, was not.' See *hōcer*.
909. *nīhra*. See *mīš nīhra°*.
910. *nīlā* (Ar. *nīl*, 'blue' of washerwomen and dyers), 'blue, green.'
911. *nīli*, a species of edible mallow (Arabic *ḥabbēzi*) eaten as a relish.
912. *nīlya[k]-kēši*, 'a stew of mallow.'
913. *nīm*, *nīmi*, 'a half.' Declined like a subst. *nīmōsān*, 'half of them.' Followed by the nominative, as *nīm wars*, 'half a year.' *na wa urīti bād dīsās nīmi*, 'do not come tomorrow after noon.'
914. *nīm-ārāt*, 'midnight, at midnight.'
915. *nīm-dīs*, 'noon.'
916. *nīm-imhīlā*, 'half a [Turkish] dollar,' a half *mājīdī* piece.
917. *nīmr* (Ar.), 'a panther.'
918. *nīm-sāi*, 'fifty' (half a hundred).
919. *nīng-hōcer*, 'to enter,' with a variety of allied meanings, as 'to pierce, prick.' *Su° nīngri unglērmā*, 'the needle pricked your finger'; *nīngri kūrīāmā*, 'he entered the house.' Extended in meaning to 'pass away' or the like: *mrēni siēski ēwars illi nīngri*, 'we perished from cold last year.' The conjugation is not very regular: imperative *kōl kápiā u nīgši*, 'open the door and enter.'
920. *nīr*, 'to lead, conduct, guide.' See *nār*.
921. *nīrda°*, *nīrdaḥra°*. See *radī-hōcer*.
922. *nīsāb-kerār*, 'to build, erect.'
923. *na*. See *na*.
924. *nāgi*, a measure of weight, Arabic *ōkīye*, roughly about half a pound.
925. *nūsāb-kerār*. See *nīsāb-kerār*.
926. *nūt-hocer* (Ar.), 'to leap, jump.'

## O

927. *ō-*, an uncommon form of the superdefinite article, xxiii. 14.
928. *ōglāy*, 'a kid.'
929. *ōrā*, 'that.' Loc. *ōrāmā*, lx. 14: acc. pl. *ōrān*, lx. 13. A variant of *ōurā*, which see.
930. *ōsār-kerār*, 'to prophesy,' xcii. 39.
931. *ōst*, 'a lip.'

## P

932. *pāci*, prep., 'behind.' Constructed similarly to *āger*, which see. Thus *pāci kiyākānki*, xxxix. 15, but *kiyākān-pāci*, xxxix. 22, both meaning 'behind the things.' After verb denoting 'to send for': *ujāldā pāci kaumiskā*, 'he sent after his family,' xi. 4, where the directive is probably induced by the implied sense 'motion towards.'
933. *pāfilā*, 'copper'; also 'a ḡabaḡ,' a Turkish coin now worth about a farthing. *pāfilā kāštōtā*, 'a quarter ḡabaḡ.'
934. *pāw*, 'a husband': rarely used without the pronominal suffix.
935. *pākā*, 'a locust.' Also *bākīlā*.
936. *pākīlā*, 'a porcupine.'
937. *pākīlā*, 'a feather.'
938. *pāl*, 'a shoulder, an arm.'
939. *pāl*, 'a bed.' *wēšti pālāstā*, 'sit on the bed.'
940. *pālpālā*, 'a bond' [?]. *tīrdēn kōūtās pālpālāstā*, 'we bound the thief,' lxxxii. 6. Doubtful word.
941. *pālā* (Ar. *bāltā*), 'a small axe, a pickaxe.'
942. *pand*, 'a way, road.' *hālī māte illi kērandi cālān in-kērand bītās āhār pāndāk*, 'let the people who make cisterns make a way [tunnel] under the earth': *kindā hri pand dētā*, 'where is the road to the village?'
943. *pāni*, 'water, the sea.' *rōnāni gištānēmān pānāk céncesmā*, 'we were all walking on the sea-shore.' It may also mean 'mud': as *bād wārsīndiki giš thrā pāni*, 'after the rain everything turned to mud.'
944. *pāni*, 'a comb.'
945. *panāk-dēngiz*, 'a ship.' See *dēngiz*.
946. *pānāk-kāki*, 'a water-thing,' i.e. a bath, barrel, water-pipe, etc.
947. *Panāk-nyārā*, Beirut ('the water-city').
948. *pani-hōcer*, 'to become wet.'
949. *pani-unḡāl-keri* (Ar. *nāḡāl*, 'to transport'), 'a water-carrier.'
950. *paniūs-īkiāḡ*, 'the pupil' of the eye.
951. *panj*, *pānjī*, 'he, she': 3rd sing. personal pronoun. Abl. *pānjik*, xli. 2. Feminine in xi. 2, and often elsewhere.
952. *pānjān*, 'they': 3rd plur. personal pronoun.
953. *pārār*, *pārūr*, 'to take.' *par mōnās*, 'take the loaf.' Also

- to buy,' as *pārdor gōrāšūn*, 'you have bought the cows.' This sense is usually defined by the addition of the adverb '*imlén*, which see: as *pārdā bōtōm snōtāk 'imlén* (lix. 1), 'my father bought a dog.' Also, of a woman, 'to conceive': *bāi illi pārdōsrā*, lxxii. 13.
954. *parc*, 'a piece, fragment.' See xcii. 14 and note.
955. *pārtāla*, 'a *ḵūmbāz*,' i.e. a long garment worn by men, reaching to the feet and girded round the waist.
956. *pāšmā*, 'wool.'
957. *pāti*, 'a veil, a cloth, a puggaree.' *pāti illi imhōr imśāḥ-keri*, 'the cloth that wipes your face,' i.e. a towel.
958. *pāu*, 'a foot, a leg.' *yējrik-pāuūs*, 'a horse-hoof' (for which the Arabic *ḥāfir* is also used); *pāuūs-siri*, 'the head of the leg,' i.e. the thigh: *yējir jērōsim pāuūmmā*, 'the horse kicked me on my leg.'
959. *pāu-*, a stem from which are formed some of the tenses of *āuār*, 'to come.' See *Grammar*, § 122. Possibly this is the original form of the verb.
960. *pāu-bāgtānā*, 'a court-house, place of assembly, guest-house of a village, public hall of any kind.' The double *n* disappears, owing to the accentuation and the length of the word, in the oblique cases, as in the dative *pāubāginyētā*. See *Grammar*, § 113.
961. *pāuūūs*, 'a wheel' of a carriage. A doubtful word: it probably simply means 'its foot' (*pāu-ūs*). See *Grammar*, § 30, Obs.
962. *pēnār*, 'to take, lift.' See quotation under *kūš*. Also 'to bring, send, give': *pēnde āmintā ābare* (vii. 11), 'they brought these troubles on us.' 'To arouse' a disturbance, make a noise: *sāsās nī pēnde°* (xxxii. 2), 'he did not make a noise.' Especially used with *nam*, 'a name,' for 'to give a name' to oneself or another: *pēndā nāmos Ḥāsāni*, 'he called himself Hasan'; *kēi pēnāsi nāmos ārāšk*, 'what do you call that?'
963. *p-nāuār*, 'to cause to take, to exchange,' xxxviii. 6.
964. *pērā*, a Bedawin encampment or settlement. *dī pērā, kull p-ērā des kūrī*, 'two settlements, ten tents [in] each settlement.'
965. *p-nāuār*, 'to spend.' *gōrā pēšnāurdos*, 'he went and spent it.'
966. *p-ā*, 'belly.' Used figuratively, as *bārdā-ḥrā pētos āmintā*, 'he

deceived us' (*lit.* 'his belly became full against us'); *pětör bārdék mākṛ āmīntā*, 'you beguile us' (*lit.* 'your belly is full of deceit [Arabic *mākṛ*] against us').

967. *pēwīndi*, 'a shackle, fetter.' Probably for *pāu-indi*.

968. *pīār*, 'to drink.' *bōtom pīār cāmdī pāni, mištā-hrā mnēsi*, 'my father drank bad water and became sick from it'; *kēk āhā ūlli piēsi, āmā jānāme°*, 'what is this you are drinking, I do not know it?' *pīār cīcāk*, 'to suck' [infant or young animal]; *wēšti, pī kīrwi*, 'sit and drink (some) coffee.' As in Arabic, and by a curious coincidence in Irish, the verb for 'to drink' is also used for 'to smoke': *pīāmi dif*, 'I smoke tobacco.'

969. *piāz, piāzi*, 'onions.'

970. *pīnāūār*, 'to give to drink, cause to drink.'

971. *pīnāūtrus dīfāk*, 'a tobacco pipe.'

972. *pīnji*, 'a tail' of an animal.

973. *pīrā*, 'wine.'

974. *pīrn*, 'a nose.'

975. *pīsār*, 'to grind.' *jāndri ārzīn pīsāri*, 'a mill that grinds millet.'

976. *pīš*, 'drink, a drink.' *kēš u pīš*, 'food and drink.'

977. *pīšt*, 'a back' (human).

978. *pitr*, 'a son': enclitic form. See *pótrā*.

979. *plā*, 'a para,' the smallest Turkish monetary unit,  $\frac{1}{40}$  of a piastre. No para coins are now in circulation. See *ple*.

980. *plāli*, 'money.'

981. *ple*, 'money': declined sometimes as a masc., sometimes as neut., with acc. *plen* or *ple*. The plur. of *plā*.

982. *plendēn-pārīnnā*, 'a money-changer.'

983. *pnārā*, 'white'; also any conspicuously white substance, as 'snow' or 'lime.' *pnārā ūlli bēn wāṭēiki tiyāri ška'nhe°*, 'the lime put between the stones (of the house) is not dry'; *kāūrā pnārā dīsān*, 'snow fell during the day.' Also pronounced *prānā*. *pnārā ikiēs*, 'the white of the eye.'

984. *pōl*, 'a husband, bridegroom.' Usually compounded with a pronominal suffix.

985. *pōri*, 'smallpox.'

986. *pótrā*, 'a son, a child.' *pótrōm kām-keri dīsān u ārātān*, 'my son works day and night'; *mānsāki dī pótrā ābās*, 'a certain man had two sons.' *pitr* is an enclitic form, used after a genitive; as *tmālies-pitr*, 'an officer's son.'

987. *protkila*, 'a Jew.'  
 988. *pūf-kerār*, 'to blow' [bellows].  
 989. *pūf-kérnā*, 'a bellows': onomatopœic word, the 'puff-maker.'  
 990. *pūnj*, *pūnji*, numeral adj., 'five.'  
 991. *punjāne*, 'five' (subst.). Acc. *pūnjēna*, xliv. 16; abl. *pūnjāmānki*, lxi. 14.  
 992. *pūnjēs*, 'five,' in counting, or when used absolutely, xxi. 14.

## R

993. *rābā* (Ar. *rāb'a*), 'a quarter.'  
 994. *rābī'* (Ar.), 'spring grass.'  
 995. *rābī'-kerār* (Ar.), 'to pasture,' xevi. 1.  
 996. *raḍi-hōcer* (Ar.). 'to want, require.' Chiefly used in the preterite negative, which has become one word, *nīrdāḥrā'* (*d* for *ḍ*). Also *rāḍ-hōcer*, from the present tense of the Arabic word.  
 997. *rahl* (Ar.), 'trappings of a camel.'  
 998. *rāḥīsī* (Ar. *rāḥīs*), 'cheap, inexpensive, of little worth.'  
 999. *raji-hōcer* (Ar. *rāḥ*, 'beseech'), 'to beg, beseech,' lvii. 6.  
 1000. *rāji-hōcer* (Ar. *raḥṣ*, 'to sprinkle'), 'to sprinkle, pour water.'  
     Preterite *rājīrā*, lxxxiv. 4, or *rejīrdā*, xc. 11.  
 1001. *Rāmāllā*, the village Ram Allah, north of Jerusalem.  
 1002. *Rāmleh*, the town Ramleh, near Jaffa.  
 1003. *rāmlī* (Ar. *rāml*), 'sand.'  
 1004. *rās-hōcer*, 'to follow': *rāsrī māḥlūs*, 'she followed the fool.'  
     Also 'to make for' a place: *rāsrēn 'ad ādēsās*, 'we made again for that place.' Hence 'to make up with, reach, arrive at': *kāldēn ārātān*, *rāsrēn kūrīān nīm-ārāt*, 'we mounted by night and reached the tents at midnight.'  
 1005. *rāswāḥr*, 'to cause to reach, to conduct': causal of *rās-hōcer*.  
 1006. *rāwār*, 'to go, walk, move, depart': as a rule causal in form only, but see the sentence quoted under *nār*.  
 1007. *rāwās*, 'the act of going.' *bēdāl rāwāśmki*, 'in return for my going,' xxviii. 11.  
 1008. *rāwāḥ-hōcer* (Ar.), 'to go': chiefly if not exclusively used in the preterite, as *rāwāḥrā*, 'he went.'  
 1009. *rāwāḥ-kerār* (Ar.), 'to make to go, send.'  
 1010. *rāzār*, 'to tremble.' *pānji rāzāri bišwādnki*, 'he is trembling from fear.'

1011. *rázāri*, 'a trembling, shivering.' *rázāri ātústā tatwāāḱ*, 'a shivering from fever is on him.'
1012. *ra'd-fār* (Ar. *ra'd*, 'thunder'), 'to thunder.'
1013. *ra'ī-kerār* (Ar.), 'to feed, pasture' cattle.
1014. *rējī-hócer*, 'to rise up.' *pándāstā Bēt-lāḥmāki rējīrā āmīntā dīli miṭl ātós jāndrik*, 'on the Bethlehem road there rose up on us dust like the flour of a mill.'
1015. *rekāb-kerār*, 'to make to ride, place, deposit.'
1016. *režāūr*, 'to drop, pour.' *ārū tā-tār kēšās siriés mā, režāurdōsis felēmā*, 'he was going to put the food in his head [mouth] but dropped it in a bag.'
1017. *Rīhā, Rīḡyā*, 'Jericho.' Arab. *er-Rīhā*.
1018. *rīd-hócer*, 'to will, desire.' *lāmmā rīdócer Hāyā*, 'when God wills.' See *raḍi-hócer*.
1019. *rīḡ-hócer* (Ar.), 'to rest.'
1020. *rīndā*, 'a horseshoe.'
1021. *rīšet* (Ar.), 'a feather.'
1022. *ris-hócer*, 'to become angry': only used apparently in the preterite, *rīsrā*, 'he was angry.' With predic. suffix fem. *rīsrīk*, 'she was angry,' iii. 3.
1023. *rizk* (Ar.), 'fortune, property.' *dēim góniāḱ ple tā-jām nāūcām rizkōm*, 'give me a purse of money that I may go and seek my fortune.'
1024. *rōār*, 'to weep.' *bōōm mārā, rōāmī ātústā*, 'my father is dead, I weep for him'; *lāci bišwāānki rōāri*, 'the girl weeps for fear.'
1025. *rud-hócer*, 'to answer.' Preterite *rúdrā*, lxxvi. 35.

## S

1026. *sābāb* (Ar.), 'a cause, reason.'
1027. *sābāhtā* (Ar. *subḥ*, 'morning'), adv. of time 'from the morning,' xvi. 3.
1028. *sābāhtān* (ib.), adv. of time 'in the morning.' Compare *ārātān*.
1029. *sābāk-hócer* (Ar.), 'to come up with, overtake, precede.' Pret. *sābākrā*, lxix. 7.
1030. *sābā* (Ar.), 'a lion.' Arab. dual *sābā'in*, lx. 14; also *sābu'a*, xevi. 5.
1031. *sādāf-hócer* (Ar.), 'to come upon, meet.'
1032. *sāfāḡ-kerār* (Ar.), 'to make a contract, writing.'

1033. *sāhīb* (Ar.), 'a friend.'
1034. *sāhūi* (Ar. *sāḥan*), 'a plate.'
1035. *sāi*, 'a hundred.' Accus. or abl. plural from *sāiāne*, lv. 13; *sāiān*, xliii. 13.
1036. *sāhūy* (Ar.), 'a goldsmith.'
1037. *sāiḡūd-hōcer* (Ar.), 'to hunt' game.
1038. *sāk-hōcer*, 'to be able.' *dī dīs nī sākrēn sācēn*, 'for two days we could not sleep': *insākrōme*°, 'I cannot, have no power, am sick, tired'; *zārō sākre*°, 'the boy is tired.' With dat. of object, 'to get the better of, overcome': *pānjī sākrā āmātā*, 'he got the better of me.'
1039. *sākir-kerār* (Ar.), 'to shut up, close, imprison.' In xiv. 4 *sākirī* is probably for *sākir-kerdī*.
1040. *sāknāiūr*, 'to cause to be able, help, give assistance,' xxv. 19.
1041. *sākōi* (Ar. *sāko*), 'a coat, jacket.'
1042. *sal*, *sālā*, 'a rope.' Also the 'akāl or loop of goat's-hair rope by which the head-veil is secured. Also 'cord, string,' as in xxxii. 3.
1043. *sal*, *sālī*, 'rice.' Accus. sing. *sal* (vi. 7), *sālī* (ix. 2), or *sālās* (xliii. 12).
1044. *sālāmi* (Ar.), 'peace.'
1045. *sāndāk* (Ar.), 'a box.'
1046. *sāp*, *sāpi*, 'a snake.' Accus. *sāpās*, xxxvi. 6.
1047. *sar* (Ar. *sar*, 'he became'). This verb is borrowed, with its Arabic inflections, to express 'to begin': *lāmmān sīndī ēḡalī rōrī sāret*, 'when she heard that saying she began to weep'; *sar nāwārī āsuāmēstā*, 'he began to seek for his idols.'
1048. *sas*, 'noise.' Accus. *sāsās*, xxxii. 2. Of the song of birds: *siske sasāsān kilāwāndī sāžrētā*, *ārā ātsun kājjā*, *nāsre*, 'the birds were raising their song in a tree, a man came to them, they fled [flew away]'; *sāsāik fērā hrēz*, 'the cock crew.'
1049. *sāsi* (Ar. *āsās*), 'foundation' of a building.
1050. *sāš*, 'sleep.' Loc. *sāšmā*, 'in sleep,' xxxii. 3.
1051. *sāiū* (Ar.), 'together.'
1052. *sāiū*, 'a master, owner.' *pāltik-sāiū*, 'the owner of a pick-axe,' i.e. the pickaxe-wielder in a gang of labourers. Sometimes treated as indeclinable: *cīrdā kūrīāk-sāiū*, 'he said to the lord of the house,' xxxiii. 11.



1053. *săwút-kerār* (Ar. *sōt*, 'voice'), 'to lift up the voice, scream.'
1054. *sáyil-kerār* (Ar. *sa'al*, 'to inquire'), 'to ask,' a question.  
With dat. of person asked: *sáyil-kerdă* 'Aisástă, xxxiii. 1.
1055. *săžāră* (Ar.), 'a tree.' Properly *šăžāră*, but often pronounced with initial *s* even in Arabic.
1056. *să'ă* (Ar.), 'an hour.'
1057. *să'ătásnă* (Ar. *să'ă*, 'hour'), 'at once, immediately.' *ihî kûri 'átki bōl, āmmă ihî kûri nârvik bōl, la intîrdōr kûziă minji cămdă hōri să'ătásnă, kûdări tîmnă dîl*, 'this house is very old, but that house is quite new, if you put timber in it it will rot immediately, it will fall like dust.'
1058. *să'd* (Ar.), 'happiness.' *să'd-kerār* *Hăyă subăhur*, 'may God make your morning happy, good morning.'
1059. *să'ek kûwusi* (Ar. with Nuri predic. suffix), 'he was fallen in a fit,' or 'in a faint,' xxxv. 3.
1060. *séken* (Ar.), 'ashes.'
1061. *sellă* (Ar.), 'a basket.'
1062. *sellim-kerār* (Ar.), 'to send,' also 'to deliver, save.'
1063. *sémăk* (Ar.), 'a fish.'
1064. *semmák* (Ar.), 'a fisherman.'
1065. *si*, 'cold.' Dat. *siéstă*, abl. *siéski*. The plural is not used, even in the connexion noted in *Grammar*. § 40, *Obs.*: thus *mřéni siéski* (not *siénki*), 'we were perished from cold,' lv. 3.
1066. *sîd* (Ar.), 'a grandfather.'
1067. *sîdi* (Ar.), 'my lord'; respectful term of address.
1068. *sîdr* (Ar.), 'a terebinth-tree.'
1069. *sîh* (Ar.), 'a skewer' of metal.
1070. *sijnădări*, a word given me for 'bug,' but evidently the causal of some verb and not the insect's name.
1071. *sîldă*, 'cold, unhappy.' *wă sîldik*, 'the air is cold.'
1072. *sînăr*, 'to hear': *ămă snămsi*, 'I hear him.' With abl. 'to hearken to': *sîndă gâlisk*, 'he hearkened to her word,' c. 5.
1073. *sînk*, 'chest' (of body).
1074. *sîri*, 'head.' *kăpiăk-sîrius*, 'a door-lintel'; *păuăš-sîri*, 'the thigh.' Used, as in many languages, in counting cattle, xxvi. 16.
1075. *sîrtăwi*, 'a headdress,' especially a fez or a puggaree.

1076. *siskā, siskā*, 'a bird,' especially a small chicken.  
 1077. *sīt-*. See *sūcār*.  
 1078. *sīwār*, 'to sew.' *gorisnā ta-sīwān kūrā*, 'a needle to sew the tent'; *sīwārdi kēli*, 'she sewed the clothes.'  
 1079. *slal* (Ar.), 'baskets.'  
 1080. *slūcār*, 'to cause to sleep.'  
 1081. *slūh-kerār* (Ar. *šālāh*, 'he stripped'), 'to strip off' clothes or an animal's skin.  
 1082. *snōcār*, 'to inform, relate, cause to hear': causal of *sīnār*, 'to hear,' lvi. 8.  
 1083. *snōtā*, 'a dog, jackal.'  
 1084. *snōtās-hālāīki*, 'a wolf.' *snōtās-hālāīki kārā giš bākrān*, 'the wolf ate all the sheep.'  
 1085. *sōmā*, 'a coop' for chickens. *sōmāsān emāriānki*, 'the chickens' coop.'  
 1086. *sof* (Ar.), 'a voice.' *far sōt*, 'to shout.'  
 1087. *srūh-hōcer* (Ar.), 'to feed' animals, lxxii. 11.  
 1088. *stād-hōcer*, 'to hunt, chase' animals. In lxxi. 14, *stād-ḥrōm fāros* means, apparently, 'I have exacted vengeance for him.'  
 1089. *stōmā*, 'steel.'  
 1090. *stūh-kerār*, 'to split.'  
 1091. *su*, 'a needle.'  
 1092. *sūbā* (Ar. *sūbh*), 'morning.'  
 1093. *sūcār*, 'to sleep.' *ju erhōna ajōti, sāci wā-āmmā cūāmi*, 'go there to-day, sleep, and I will come'; *pānjī swāri štar das dīs u štar das ārāt, u štar das ārāt nī swarē*, 'she sleeps forty days and forty nights, and forty nights she does not sleep'; *sūcār āhā*, 'let him sleep.'  
 1094. *sūfrē* (Ar. *sūfrā*), 'a table,' especially a dinner-table.  
 1095. *sūkīr-kerār* (Ar.), 'to shut.' See *sūkīr-kerār*.  
 1096. *sūh* (Ar.), 'a market.'  
 1097. *sūs*, 'sleep,' xlv. 11. Also *sūš*.  
 1098. *swar* (compare Ar. *sawārā*, 'a bracelet'), 'a wrist.'

## S

1099. *sābāki* (Ar.), 'a net.'  
 1100. *sākīr-kerār* (Ar.), 'to break in pieces.'  
 1101. *šakr* (Ar. *sukr*), 'sugar.'  
 1102. *šālāh-kerār* (Ar.), 'to strip.' See *slūh-kerār*.

1103. *šan*, only in Ar. phrase *min-šan*, 'for the sake of.'
1104. *šárúră* (Ar.), 'a spark.'
1105. *Šark* (Ar.), 'the East.'
1106. *šas*, 'six.'
1107. *šăťúră* (Ar.), 'a trick.'
1108. *šăură-hócer* (Ar.), 'to plot.'
1109. *šăžără*. See *săžără*.
1110. *šē*, 'happy.'
1111. *šē-hócer*, 'to be happy.' *šăyómi*, 'I am happy'; *šéhră*, 'he was happy.'
1112. *šibábă* (Ar.), 'a whistle, flute.'
1113. *šibbăk* (Ar.), 'a window.'
1114. *šib-hócer*, 'to leap.' Pret. *šibră*, lxxvi. 63.
1115. *šibrýă* (Ar.), 'a dagger.'
1116. *šíkă*, 'a voice.'
1117. *šíkl* (Ar.), 'a sort, kind.'
1118. *šim-kerăr* (Ar.), 'to smell.' *biddi jam šim-kerărni wăšs*, 'I want to go to smell the air,' a literal translation of an Arabic phrase for 'to go on pleasure.'
1119. *šingi*, 'a locust-tree.' The Ar. name *hărrăb* is more commonly used.
1120. *širš*, 'a part, spot,' lxx. 13.
1121. *šită* (Ar.), 'winter.'
1122. *škă*, 'dry, hard.'
1123. *škă-făr*, 'to call, cry': *ška-fěrá min kúriăk manjéski 'kónik illi barék?' Cîrdă škă 'âmă hrómi*, 'he called from inside the house, "Who is outside?" The other said, "It is I." 'To invite': *inšállăh âuni wars škă-jěmi min-šan bescăă-yăki*, 'I hope next year you will invite me to (your) marriage.' 'To give the call to prayer from a minaret.' 'To crow' (cock): *škă-fěrá hrěz*, 'the cock crew.'
1124. *škă-hócer*, 'to become dry, harden, solidify.'
1125. *ški*, 'a complaint.'
1126. *ški-făr*, 'to complain.'
1127. *šnăr*, *šnăuăr*, 'to burn.' *šnămi bôuăr*, 'I burn [=curse] thy father,' lxxii. 13.
1128. *Šrăă* (Ar.), the river Jordan.
1129. *štălăr*, 'to put, lift, load' (animal): followed by dative, as in *štălăs dăwăătă ki-yăkăn-kăziă*, 'load the box of things on a camel'; *štălděndôm țăte kărăstă*, 'the fellahin put me on an ass.' *ni štălăr wălă intăuăr*, 'not to put or to

- place,' an idiom for 'to make trouble,' xliii. 14; *štalāšim šoššik*, 'wake me from sleep.' Causal verb in the same sense, *štalāšurlēndis dī sāndūk*, 'they loaded it (the donkey) with two boxes.'
1130. *štalāšūr*, 'to cause to load.' Used like the simple verb *štalār*, which see.
1131. *štar*, 'four.' Acc. plur. *štárnā*, viii. 13. *Štar u štar*, 'eight' *štar u štar u yikāk*, 'nine.'
1132. *štarēs*, 'four,' used in counting.
1133. *štir*, 'a camel.' *dāwān* is, however, the usual word.
1134. *štirār*, 'to rise up, stand.' *kékā inšteye*, 'why do you not stand?' lxii. 12.
1135. *šškf* (Ar.), 'a piece, fragment.'
1136. *ššti*, 'a water-melon'; 'the hub of a wheel.' (The Ar. *bššti* has both these meanings).

## T

1137. *tā-* (*tān-* before verbs beginning with *d*). Proclitic particle, prefixed to verbs to denote 'in order that, so that, until.' See *Grammar*, § 123. Sometimes, though rarely, used before words other than verbs, as *tā-ād inhe° kiyāk*, vi. 8, 'till there was nothing more.'
1138. *tāgij*, 'a hammer.' See sentences quoted under *li*.
1139. *tākni*, 'a large wooden dish, platter.'
1140. *tālš* (Ar. *tālīš*), 'a mountain.'
1141. *tāli*, 'rest, remainder.' *tālyōsmān*, xxvi. 14, 'the rest of us.'
1142. *tāmān*, 'until,' lvi. 12.
1143. *tāmēlli* (Ar., but Egyptian rather than Palestinian), 'always.'
1144. *tān*, 'a bed.' *sitēndi tānāksmā*, xxxii. 1, 'they sleep on a bed.'
1145. *tān-*. See *tā-*.
1146. *tāngā*, 'narrow.' *tāngi pānd*, 'a narrow road.'
1147. *tāni* (Ar.), 'second, another.'
1148. *tar*, 'arrack.' *kāri tārās piēndi minj*, 'a house that they drink arrack in,' a tavern; *pīrēk tar, sitēk, nāwērēk u sirios bārdēk, insākreye° rōūcār*, 'he drank arrack and lay down, he wandered about and his head was full, he could not walk (steadily).' *tārās mātāsk*, 'perspiration.'
1149. *tar*, 'to put, place, pay.' *ke gāra* (sic) *tēk*, 'What art thou

going to pay?' Preterite root *tird-*, *tírd*. 'To betroth' a girl: *mānde láciā bānīrēk ātústā kūrīāk-kapi, tirdēk ātústā yikāk, u pānjī māngāri yikāk āgzas hláfās*, 'they kept the girl locked up [because] she was betrothed to one and desired a lover other than him'; *tírdā sírios* 'he laid his head' down to sleep; *int' ānglérma kústbāni*, 'put a thimble (Arabic word) on your finger.' 'To pay'; *min pānj wars nī tirdā tmalīšnkārā plen, yōmin ārā gōrándelā násrā, cārdā hlālos hārāb-dēākāmā*, 'for five years he has not paid money to the soldiers (=taxes), when the horseman came he fled and hid himself in a ruin.'

1150. *tārān*, 'three'; *tārānēmān*, 'we three.' Also *tārāne* (xviii. 11) or *tārānā* (xxxviii. 23), *tārānēs* (xliii. 1, lv. 1), with predic. suff. *tārānēsne* or *-ēsni* (xviii. 1, lxiv. 1): acc. plur. *tārānān*, lxiv. 9; abl. *tārānānki*, liii. 11. *tārān u tārān*, 'six'; *tārān das*, 'thirty.'

1151. *tārānēs*, 'three,' used in counting.

1152. *tārcānā*, 'curds.'

1153. *tārānā*, 'a youth.'

1154. *tas-hócer*, 'to be drowned.' *tásre dīs pānūāmā*, 'two men were drowned in the sea.'

1155. *tāsnāūār*, 'to choke' (transitive).

1156. *tásti, tášti*, 'a small wooden dish.'

1157. *tat*, 'heat, fever.' *tátik*, 'there was heat,' xxvi. 2.

1158. *tátā*, 'hot.'

1159. *tātā-hócer*, 'to have fever.'

1160. *tātās-dīsi*, 'summer.'

1161. *tatwāi*, 'fever.' *tātā-hōri u rāzāri ātústā tatwāiāk*, 'he is fevered and shivering from fever.'

1162. *tāu*, 'leaves' of plants.

1163. *tāūār*, 'to put, place.' *tāu pānūāmā škā-mónās*, 'put the dry bread in water.' Neg. present 2nd sing. *intweye°*. Causal of *tar*, which see.

1164. *tāūnā*, 'thin.' '*Abd Allah nī kāre° kādd-mā kārā Hāsān, āhā tāūnēk āhā hāmīli*, 'Abd Allah did not eat as much as Hasan, so the one is thin the other is fat.'

1165. *tāwāb-hócer* (Ar. *tab*, he repented), 'to repent, stop, cease.' *tāwābre ēkā māstā*, 'they ceased from that work,' xvi. 18.

1166. *tāwār* (Ar. *turījeh*), 'a spade, hoe.'

1167. *tā'b* (Ar.), 'weariness, trouble.'

1168. *ʕhatt* (Ar.), 'you put, give,' lxxxvi. 4.
1169. *tī-*. Particle used in forming the pronominal expressions, *Grammar*, § 64.
1170. *tiknāʕūr*, 'to cause pain, to hurt.' *síriōm tiknāʕūrmī*, 'my head pains me.'
1171. *tillā*, 'big, great.' *tillék*, 'it was big': *tillāski*, xxxiii. 2, is apparently an ablative used as a kind of superlative, 'greatest.'
1172. *tillā-ʕmāʕri*, 'a duck, a goose.'
1173. *tillā-ḥāḳāʕrā* (Ar.), 'a garden.'
1174. *tillā-ḥócer*, 'to become great, increase': *tillā-hre*, lx. 5.
1175. *tillā-mānūs*, 'a great man, a sheikh,' xx. 6.
1176. *tillā-pāʕīlā*, 'a big ḳabaḳ,' *i.e.* the complete coin, to distinguish it from the smaller half ḳabaḳ and quarter ḳabaḳ. See *pāʕīlā*.
1177. *tillā-tmāli*, any important official, as sultan, king, general, governor, etc.
1178. *tillā-žāmī* (Ar.), 'the great mosque,' *i.e.* Mecca.
1179. *tilli-kāḥri*, 'a cauldron.'
1180. *tilli-sū*, 'a thousand.'
1181. *till-ayārā*, 'a big city'—the proper name for Jerusalem, Damascus, or Constantinople. See *Grammar*, § 9.
1182. *tīmṇā*, 'like': followed by nominative. *tīmṇā bis*, 'like straw': *ḥri tīmṇā tmālies-bā*, 'she became like a queen.'
1183. *tirāsālā*, 'thirsty.' *tirāsālī-ḥri*, 'she became thirsty,' lxi. 6.
1184. *tirṇāʕūr*, 'to cause to pay, make to pay, extort,' vii. 3.
1185. *tirwālī*, 'a sword.' With the pronominal suffix of the 2nd person the *l* assimilates to the *r* on each side of it, as *tirwāʕir*.
1186. *tirwāb-ḥócer*. See *tāwāb-ḥócer*.
1187. *tmāli*, 'a soldier.' Also any officer from a king downwards (though *tilla-tmāli* is generally used for the higher ranks). *tmāliemṇēni*, 'they are with the soldiers' (*i.e.* in the army).
1188. *tmālies-bā*, 'an officer's wife,' from queen downwards. *pānjī intā gāzā kēli bēniskā*, *ḥri tīmṇā tmālies-bā*, 'he gave fine clothes to his sister, she became like a queen.'
1189. *trāšīrār*, 'to shave,' lvi. 6.
1190. *tālāḡ*, 'a water-skin,' for carrying water.

1191. *tūr-wáli*. See *tir-wáli*.

1192. *tuš-hócer*, 'to wander, err, go astray,' lv. 6.

## T

1193. *ṭāyib-kerar* (Ar.), 'to make good, reconcile.'

1194. *ṭārābīs* (Ar. *plural*), 'a tarbush, fez.'

1195. *ṭaṭ*, 'a fellah, peasant, agriculturist.'

1196. *ṭāt-kājjā*, 'a fellah,' xxxvii. 6.

1197. *ṭaṭwári*, 'the Arabic language.'

1198. *ṭāwāl-hócer* (Ar.), 'to be a long time, stay, delay.' *ṭāwāl-hrēsi ēderiēmmā*, 'will you stay long in these places?'  
*na ṭāwālōci āmīntā*, 'do not delay us, do not be late for us.'

1199. *ṭīr-hócer* (Ar.), 'to fly.'

1200. *ṭlīf-hócer* (Ar.), 'to become loose, free.'

1201. *ṭnūb-hócer* (Ar. *ṭānīb*, 'a protégé'), 'to put oneself under another's protection.' *ṭnūbrēn ātsūntā*, xvi. 7.

1202. *ṭōl*, 'forehead.'

1203. *ṭōli*, 'a cloth, a handkerchief.'

1204. *Ṭābāriyā*, 'the town Tiberias.' Dat. *Ṭābāriyētā*, xxxiv. 6.

1205. *ṭūl*, *ṭūlet* (Ar.), 'length.' *mānūs wēsrēk kuriēmā, sindā kūtātari barēk, ṭūlet ārātos pānjī rāzāri bišwānki*, 'the man was sitting in the tent, he heard a hyæna outside, the whole night he was trembling for fear.' Used adverbially as in Arabic, *ṭūl pāndāki kwāri*, 'the length of the road he keeps throwing,' i.e. he was throwing things all the time he was walking along the road. c. 11.

1206. *ṭānā* (see *tāūnā*), 'fine, slender.'

## T

1207. *ṭar* (Ar.), 'vengeance.'

## U

1208. *ū*. Superdefinite article. See *Grammar*, § 20.

1209. *u*, *wā* (Ar.), conjunction 'and.'

1210. *ūgjā*, 'crooked.' *ūgjā kērdā dīršos bītāski*, 'he made his furrow (in ploughing) crooked.' Also 'lame.'

1211. *ūggi*, according to Muḥammad Ḥusain, 'a pair of pincers'; but Shākir rejected this.

1212. *ūgzā*, 'a lover.' See sentence quoted under *tāūār*.

1213. *ūgli* (Ar.), 'boiling.'

1214. *āhā*, masc. sing. proclitic demonstrative, 'that.' Sometimes otiose, as in *ārā āhā kōlār*, iv. 2, which means simply 'a hyena came.' Used sometimes before a plural subst., as *āhā kājje*, i. 16.
1215. *ahlek* (lxxv. 11). See *hālār*.
1216. *āhlās* (Ar. imperative, 'finish'). A word borrowed and conjugated with the Nuri verbal inflections: as *āhlāsīndi jāre*, 'the women will finish' their quarrel, xix. 7.
1217. *ahfur-hōcer*, 'to advance further, proceed.'
1218. *ujālār*, 'to send, send for, send after.' *biddi ujālāmār ugārtā, gārīci hālū*, 'I want to send you to the town, return at once': *ujāldā pācis*, 'he sent after him.'
1219. *ākei*, 'a beard.'
1220. *āklār*, 'to cast, strike, throw down, lay down, cast out, knock (door).'
1221. *aktinnā*, 'a bell' (=the beaten thing). But also 'a chisel,' in the sense of a *beating* thing; *wātān uktinnā*, 'a chisel for cutting stone.' See *li°-uktinnā*.
1222. *ukāmmā*. See lxxii. 5, and footnote.
1223. *āngli*, 'a finger: the spoke of a wheel.'
1224. *āuki-*, preposition, always compounded with the pronominal suffixes: 'with, among, around, in company of.' Used to form the periphrastic expression for 'to have,' for which there is no direct equivalent: *āstā yējir ānkīm*, 'I had a horse.' Of motion around: *gārōm ānkis, nī lāherdōm kapiā*, 'I went round it, and did not see the door.' Of motion towards: *ārā ānkīm*, 'he came to me,' vi. 1; contrast *sir ānkīm*, 'they slept with me,' xvi. 2. *Ūnkerā, ānkeri*, with the accent shifted to the first syllable and the Arabic article *al* prefixed, is treated as a possessive adjective meaning 'that of yours,' 'the (person or thing) with you.'
1225. *āukāl-kerār* (Ar. *uakāl*, 'he transported'), 'to carry, transfer, transport.'
1226. *urāti*, 'to-morrow.' *bād urāti* '(the day) after to-morrow'; *urāti jāri*, 'he will go to-morrow.'
1227. *ārp*, 'silver.'
1228. *āstā*, 'a penknife, razor.'
1229. *ugārtā*, 'a town, city, market.' Dat. *ugārtā*, used for locative in iii. 10.
1230. *āzār*, 'to comb.' *āzār sirīār*, 'comb your head.'



## W

1231. *wă* (Ar.), 'and.' See *u*.
1232. *wă-ămmă* (Ar.), 'and, but.'
1233. *wăddă-kerăr* (Ar.), 'to send for.' Governing accus.
1234. *wădi* (Ar.), 'a valley, river.' *wěsăm ăturtă wădiămă*, 'I will wait for you in the valley'; *wădiăkămă*, 'in a valley,' liii. 9.
1235. *wăhri*, 'a daughter-in-law,' l. 6.
1236. *wă*, 'wind, air.'
1237. *wă zérđi*, 'cholera': a literal translation of the Arabic name of the disease, *el-luă el-ăsfăr*, 'the yellow wind.' *wă zérđi* (or *wă ălli zérđi*) *mărdi giş măţăn*, 'the cholera killed every one.'
1238. *wăăškăki*, 'a window': also 'a winnowing-fork,' *wăăškăki ălli fěri hărmănmă*: see *Grammar*, § 44.
1239. *wăkăli* (Ar.), 'a deputy, a person invested with authority.'
1240. *wăl*, *wăli*, 'hair.' *wălur kălêk bôl*, 'your hair is very black.'
1241. *wălă* (Ar.), 'and not, nor.' *la jan wălă păăăn*, 'we do not come nor do we go.' There are a variety of shades of meaning, all borrowed from Arabic usage; thus, 'if not, unless': *nănek barăr-pitrăs wălă wěsêk elhăsmă*, 'you (must) bring your brother's son or else you will stay in prison.' 'Not a': *nă măndă wěssăn wăla kiyăkăk*, 'not a thing remained with them.' 'Or': *gărăr hădd-kerăr kăriă wălă mănési?* 'are you going to pull down the house or leave it standing?' *wălă . . . wălă* = 'neither . . . nor': in xxxix. 5 is a succession of four repetitions of the word.
1242. *wără-kerăr*, 'to clothe.'
1243. *wără-kerăăăr*, 'to cause to be clothed, give clothes to.' *wără-kerăăurdêdis kiyăkês*, 'they caused her to be clothed in her things,' xi. 6.
1244. *wărăkă* (Ar. *wărăk*), 'a leaf' of paper or of a tree.
1245. *wărăn*, 'a rat.' *bărôm wărăniki*, 'I was afraid of the rat.'
1246. *wars*, 'a year.'
1247. *wărsăr*, 'to rain.' *wărsări*, 'it is raining': *wărsă ed-dinyă*, 'it rained': see *dinyă*. The word *wars*, used for 'year,' possibly indicates a custom of counting years by *winters*.

1248. *wasindlā*, 'a cloud, rain, winter.' *wasindēmmā jāni*, 'in the winters we go away.'
1249. *wārt-kerār*, 'to loosen, set free' from prison, etc.
1250. *wāšī-*, preposition, used only in compounds with pronominal suffixes, 'with, along with.' Used, like *ānkī*, as a periphrasis for 'to have,' possibly, however, with a slight difference of meaning, as in the corresponding Arabic expressions: thus *ple ānkīm* seems to mean, 'the money I own': *ple wāšīm*, 'the money in my hands.' There are some modifications in pronunciation to be noticed. *wāšī* is often used instead of *wāšīs*, 'with him'; but wherever *wāšī* is found it always means *wāšīs*, never the simple preposition. Thus *bārōs nī gāl-kerdā wāšī*, 'his brother did not speak with him.' The *ī* sometimes disappears, when the *ā* is lengthened and accentuated, as in *wāšmān*, *wāšrān*, alternative forms of *wāšīmān*, *wāšīrān*: on the other hand it is often doubled, as in *wāštimān*. *wāšsān* sometimes passes into *wāscān*, as in xx. 7. Sometimes *wēšmān*, *wēšsān* are to be heard: see xxvi. 7, xxi. 7.
1251. *wāšri*, 'coal, ashes.' *nī lāherde ġār wašrēk*, 'they saw nothing but (that) there were ashes.'
1252. *wāšār*, 'to burn.' Opt. *tirdēndis āgtā min-šān wāštārus*, 'they put it on the fire to burn it.' Pret. *wāšri*, Ex. c.
1253. *wāṭ*, 'thirty,' a doubtful word: see *Grammar*, § 55, Obs. v.
1254. *wāṭ*, 'a stone.' See *wāṭ*.
1255. *wāzār*, 'to flee.'
1256. *wāzār* (Ar.), 'a vizier.'
1257. *wēšār*, 'to stop, stay, sit, be idle, be at leisure.' Also *wēštār*, as in *ār, wēšti*, a common welcome, 'come and sit down.'
1258. *wēšīnwā*, 'a chair.'
1259. *wēšlāwār*, 'to cause to stop, cause to sit, give a seat to.'
1260. *wēstīnāwī*, 'a metallik'—a coin worth about a half-penny.
1261. *wēš-*. See *wāšī*.
1262. *wēštār*. See *wēšār*.
1263. *wī*, 'twenty.'
1264. *wīh-wā*, 'a feast, festival.' *wīhwēk ed-dīnyā*, 'it is a feast-day.' *lit.* the universe is a festival. See *dīnyā*.
1265. *wīhwā-kerār*, 'to keep a feast.'

1266. *wih-hócer*, 'to be cooked.' *wihřǎ*, xxxviii. 5, 'it was cooked.'
1267. *windirǎr*, 'to stop, stand.' *windir cínǎ*, 'wait a little.'
1268. *windirnǎ*, 'a standing place.' *kōl-jěnnǎsk windirnǎ*, 'a muezzin's standing place,' i.e. a minaret. Also 'a rain-bow.'
1269. *windrǎur*, 'to cause to stand, set up, erect,' lvii. 2.
1270. *winni* (Ar.), *lit.* 'and that I,' but used simply for 'and, but.'  
Very often used to introduce a statement constructed with the predicative suffix. *wínha* (lxxvii. 3) means 'and that she.'
1271. *wirgǎ*, 'a ring.'
1272. *wīs*, 'twenty.'
1273. *wišnǎwinnǎ*, 'pepper.'
1274. *wǎt*, 'a stone, a cliff.' *lammǎ kǎurǎ min āhǎr wǎtǎski*, *siriōs giš cǎrǎri inhǎrik*, 'when he fell down the cliff his head became quite covered with blood': *pand wǎtǎni giš*, 'the road is rough, all stony'; *tillǎ wǎt*, 'a rock.'

## Y

1275. *ya* (Ar.), particle prefixed to the Vocative.
1276. *ya*, 'or.' *kǎr el-ǎnkeri kǎrǎk ya kǎri?* 'is the donkey you have a he-ass or a she-ass?'
1277. *yǎkni*, 'clever.' *mǎnusi yǎkni bōl*, 'a very clever man.'
1278. *Yǎmǎn* (Ar.), the province of Yaman in Arabia.
1279. *yǎmindrǎ*. Like Arabic *ya tǎrǎ*, to emphasise a question: *yǎmindrǎ hnǎnǎ pǎnjǎ?* 'is he really there?'
1280. *yǎ-rét* (Ar.), 'Oh that, would that.' *yǎ-rét jǎmsǎ*, 'would that I beat him.'
1281. *yǎssǎk-kerǎr* (Turkish *yǎssǎk*, 'it is forbidden'), 'to forbid.'
1282. *yǎ'ni* (Ar.), 'that is to say, *id est*.' Used like the English colloquial interjected 'you know, you understand.'
1283. *yég*, *yégǎ*, 'a file, sharpening-stone, hone.' *jěmǎ yégěmǎ cǎriǎ*, *nǎ cinare°*, 'I will sharpen (*lit.* strike) the knife on the hone, it does not cut.'
1284. *yégeni*, 'a big man, a giant' (doubtful word).
1285. *yégǎr*, *yégǎri*, 'a horse.'
1286. *yǎcǎ*, 'a sheikh, lord, master.'
1287. *yikǎ*, *yikák*, 'one.' *yikák . . . yikák*, 'one . . . the other.'  
Directive singular, *yikákšǎ*. *yikák hócer*, 'to become one, be reconciled.'

1288. *q'fba* (Ar. *'akab*, 'a heel': in the peasants' dialect *'akb* = 'after'), 'then, therefore, it follows that.'
1289. *yom* (Ar.), 'a day.' Used in periphrases for 'when' without reference to a particular day, as *yōm illi*, *yōm-in*, *lit.* 'the day that.' Thus, *yōm-in lāherdi dīrus āgmā rāsri nojālūs min-šān mārāris*, 'when she saw her daughter in the fire she followed the fool to kill him.'

## Z

1290. *zālam* (Ar.), 'heavy, gloomy, oppressive.' (Initial ز, not ج.)
1291. *zāmān* (Ar.), 'a while, a long time.' *min zāmān*, lvi. 1, 'for a long time.'
1292. *zāri*, 'a mouth.' *hāldā inhīr zarīski*, 'blood fell from his mouth.'
1293. *zārō*, 'a boy.' See *Grammar*, § 47.
1294. *zāl-hōcer* (Ar.), 'to become angry, vexed.'
1295. *zē* (Ar.), 'like, similar to.' *zē ēdiānanki*, 'like those two'; *zēyēs*, 'like him,' lxxvii. 7; *zē-mā* (Ar.), 'like as, just as,' xcii. 8.
1296. *zekāfēnni*, 'a fiddle.'
1297. *zerd*, 'gold, a gold coin' (a Turkish pound, English sovereign, French napoleon, or similar coin: the half of these pieces is called *nīm zerd*).
1298. *zērdā*, 'yellow.'
1299. *zērdā*, *zērdi*, 'a gold coin,' such as would also be called *zerd*, which see. *zērdā zērdā*, 'a pound apiece.'
1300. *zlam* (Ar.), 'men' of inferior rank, servants or peasants. This is a plural, the singular in Arabic being *zēlāmī* (see lxxvi. 55). But in Nuri it can take the native plural suffix as *zlāme*, xliii. 6.
1301. *zod* (Ar.), 'excess, surplus.'

## Ž

1302. *žānn* (Ar.), 'the jinn, demons.'
1303. *žb* (Ar.), 'a pocket.'
1304. *žbānām* (Ar.), 'hell.' In Ex. lxii. apparently conceived of as a person.
1305. *žēzā* (Ar.), 'a fine.'
1306. *žoz* (Ar.), 'a pair, couple.'

## 'ain

1307. 'a (Ar.), 'for.' 'a kām dīs? 'for how many days?'
1308. 'ābbi-kerār (Ar.), 'to roll up' a thing in paper, etc.
1309. 'abid-hócer (Ar. 'abd, 'a slave'), 'to worship, serve.' 'abidórč, an irregular form consisting of the present 'abid-hóri contaminated with the preterite 'abid-hrč, xlii. 2.
1310. 'ad (Ar.), 'again, further.'
1311. 'ādel (Ar.), 'stout, fat, well-favoured.'
1312. 'ādi (Ar.), el-'ādi, 'the manner,' used adverbially in the sense 'as usual.'
1313. 'ād (Ar.), 'a feast, birthday, celebration.'
1314. 'aidāntýos, adverb of time, 'on a feast-day.'
1315. 'āli (Ar.), 'a family, household': becomes 'ālt- or 'ālāt- before the pronom. suffixes in Arabic, and similarly in Nuri, as in 'ālāttskč, xxxvii. 3.
1316. 'āisč, 'now.' kēi gārēn kērāni 'āisč? 'what are we to do now?' See āisč.
1317. 'Āisč (Ar.), 'Esau': but used by the Muslim population as the name for Jesus.
1318. 'āis-hócer (Ar. 'āš, 'bread, life'), 'to get a living.' tš-'āisčcān (= 'āis-hóccān), 'that we might get a living.'
1319. 'ākili, 'āklili (Ar.), 'a wise man; sensible, wise.'
1320. 'ābi, 'a box.'
1321. 'allak-hócer (Ar.), 'to be hung.'
1322. 'allak-kerār (Ar.), 'to hang' (transitive).
1323. 'āmmč, 'āmmāl (Ar.), a particle defining a present meaning in the present-future tense of the verb. See Grammar, § 107.
1324. 'āmr-kerār (Ar.), 'to build up.'
1325. 'ānčb (Ar.), 'grapes.'
1326. 'arč (Ar.), 'land.'
1327. 'arč (Ar. 'arak, 'a cliff'), 'the summit' of a mountain.
1328. 'ars (Ar.), 'a bridal, wedding.'
1329. 'āsi (Ar.), 'rebelliousness, criminality.'
1330. 'asfāri (Ar., 'asfār), 'a small bird.'
1331. 'a-šan (Ar.), 'for the sake of.' Similar to the more frequent min-šan.
1332. 'ātčk, apparently an error for ātčs, 'flour,' lv. 16.
1333. 'ātčč (Ar. 'atčč), 'old, ancient.' ihi kári 'ātči bčl, 'this house is very old.'

1334. '*awad-hócer* (Ar.), 'to return': pret. '*awádră*.  
 1335. '*ăzăr*, 'tailless.'  
 1336. '*ăzer-kerăr* (Ar.), 'to make a dispute, dispute with.'  
 1337. '*ăzim-kerar* (Ar.), 'to invite.'  
 1338. '*ăžib* (Ar.), 'a wonder.'  
 1339. '*imlén*, an adverb derived from '*imli* (which see) and used with the verb *părăr* to give it the sense of 'to buy.' *părdă kărăk*, 'he took a donkey' (i.e. presumably, stole it); *părdă kărăk imlén*, 'he bought a donkey.'  
 1340. '*imli* (Ar.), 'price, value, money.' '*imlōs bōli*, 'it is dear'; '*imlōs răhisi*, 'it is cheap.'  
 1341. '*um-hócer*, 'to swim.' *hăldă pănădmă tă um-hócer, kūră wīgri min unglúski*, 'he went into the water to swim, a ring fell from his finger.'

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# JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

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## I.—THE COPPERSMITHS

OUR visitors, the Coppersmiths, Bataillard's favourite study and, in a *gadžo* sense, the most important Gypsy tribe known, have now left Great Britain, and we begin in this number of the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* to publish the information collected by various members from them or about them. Since the two names, for commercial and domestic use respectively, which most of them bore, and the fact that surnames were not always used, make the identification of individuals rather difficult, tables of two of the principal families are added at the beginning which will, it is hoped, both assist the reader and facilitate future study of these interesting people. It should be noted that the order in which the names appear is not always that of age. The gratitude of members is due to the press-agencies mentioned under the illustrations, for they have most kindly allowed the Society to use their excellent photographs free of charge.

## FAMILY OF GRÁNTŠA TŠÓRON.

Nikola (Kóla) or Wóršo, chief. — Tinka (f.)	{ Nikóla (Kóla) = Líza (f.). <sup>2</sup> Jánko = Vóla (f.). <sup>3</sup> Térka (f.) = Mórkoš (Búrda). <sup>4</sup> Rupúnka (f.) = Párvolo (Jánko). <sup>5</sup> Zázá (Sophie) (f.) = Adam Kírpatš. <sup>6</sup> Pavléna or Parvoléna (f.)
Andreas or Fárdi (age 52 in 1912). = Lótka (f.).	{ Vasíli (Wóršo). <sup>7</sup> Jánko. Rajida (f.). Anúška (f.). Tinka (f.).
Jišwan. = Parašiva (f.).	{ Žófi (f.). Nína (f.). Jóška. Jógolo. Lóla.
Jántši (club-footed). = Wórša (f.).	{ Kóla. Lúba (f.). Dika (f.). Džórdži. Wóršo. Jišwan.
Vórža (f.). = Jóno.	{ Wájnia = Rúpiš (f.). Wajtšúlo = Šimza (f.). Milánko. Sávka. Kóla. Putsuránka (f.). Líza (f.).
Daughter, name unknown. Died aged 15.	
Pavona (f.). = Savolo.	{ Fréštik (Wóršo) = Liza (f.). Jánko. Fárdi. Dúia. Lóla. Térka (f.).
Rupúnka (f.). = Toma.	{ Wóršo. Lóla. Wajtšúlo. Vórža (f.).
Térka (f.). — Tsnküro Miloš Deméter.	} Issue. Went to Mexico many years ago.

Grántša (son of Tompo Tšoron) age 57 in 1912 = Lóladži (f.).

FAMILY OF MÁTEJ TŠÓRON (TŠÚRON).<sup>8</sup>

Mátej Tšóron = Mára (f.).	Miloš (Míχail) Tšóron, <sup>9</sup> age 55, in 1913 = Vórža (f.), d. of Búmbulo, now dead.	{ Tódor (Tódoro) = Líza (f.). <sup>10</sup> Jánko = Sídi (Sidónia) (f.). Wóršo = Lúba (f.). Sávolo (António) = Rúpiš (f.). Rupúnka (f.) = Fránkoj. Lúba (f.) = Fránkoj. Líza (f.) = Fréštík (Wóršo) son of Sávolo (see opposite).
	Džúri (Džórdži Deméter). = Malíka (f.)	{ Jánko. Míloš. Jórška. Wóršo. Lánguš. Búrta. Savéta (f.). Líza (f.). Báptši (f.). Tínka (f.).
	Jórška. = Kak(t)ariáska (f.).	{ Džórdži. { Bándi.
	Jóno. = Bursíta (Térka) (f.). <sup>11</sup>	
	Díka (f.). = Míχail.	
	Anúška (f.).	
	Térika (f.). = Langúš, s. of Tšajéko.	
	Térika (f.). There were two daughters of the same name.	

<sup>1</sup> Grántša's brother Gúnia, married to Bínka, was father of Kokói (= Vórža) whose son Wóršo's portrait was the optional frontispiece of vol. iv. Wóršo's wife Salíska bore him a female child in Birkenhead, whom the Hon. Secretary, being godfather, named Savéta after her godmother.

<sup>2</sup> Issue, several children including Fráník and the ever-fascinating Tódi.

<sup>3</sup> One baby, Ráí.

<sup>4</sup> Mórkoš was a deformed dwarf, son of Jórška and Kátin or Katrin. He had issue.

<sup>5</sup> Several children, including Balóka.

<sup>6</sup> Adam, also called Púdamo, had a daughter Zága by a previous wife. Žáza (Sophie) died at Mitcham, leaving issue.

<sup>7</sup> Vasili wrote his name Vasilio.

<sup>8</sup> This family pronounced the surname Tšúron.

<sup>9</sup> Mr. Winstedt was informed that Džórdži Deméter and his brother Miloš were uncles of Párvolo, Nikóla's son-in-law.

<sup>10</sup> Children:—Anúška (f.) 15, Tékla (f.) 9, Rupúnka (f.) 7 and Lútká (m.) 3.

<sup>11</sup> The children, if any, of this and other marriages, as also Miloš's grandchildren, are unrecorded.

## THE GYPSY COPPERSMITHS' INVASION OF 1911-13

By ERIC OTTO WINSTEDT

THE early years of the twentieth century should remain nearly as memorable in Gypsy history as the early years of the fifteenth, to which they afford a welcome and instructive parallel. It was in the second decade of the fifteenth century that Western Europe was overrun by huge bands of wanderers who were noted everywhere by chroniclers as the first Gypsies seen in the town or country of which they were writing, though later research has shown that in Germany, at any rate, smaller gangs had already been seen and described under the name of Ishmaelites or Kaltschmiede. In 1906 Western Europe was again troubled by a reerudescence of wandering among the Gypsies. A large band overran England, and notices of similar bands appeared in French, German, and Swiss newspapers. Though they were wealthy enough as Gypsies go, these bands had, however, none of the regal magnificence attributed to certain 'Dukes' and 'Barons' of the fifteenth-century Gypsies. But only a few years later Augustus John revealed the existence of a mysterious tribe of Gypsy copper-smiths, met by him in France and Italy, and his account of their fabulous wealth, their magnificence and their strange behaviour, reads like an Arabian Nights' tale. It was just after the publication of his article<sup>1</sup> that I received a telegram inviting me to Liverpool to see some similar Gypsies, who had halted there on their way to America; and needless to say I accepted the invitation with alacrity. Nor was I disappointed in what I saw. All the barbaric glamour of the East was there: but if the reader looks to find it reflected in this article, as it is in Augustus John's paper, he will be grievously disappointed. I confess to having little or no faculty for such genre-painting: besides Augustus John, with a true artist's cunning, has chosen to paint them in their rarer moods of joy and grief; while I have set myself to describe their habits and customs, and their everyday life, as I found it during a week's visit to Liverpool immediately after their arrival, a month I passed subsequently sleeping in an upper room—if it could be called a room—at the back of the old drill-hall in Birkenhead, where they were encamped, and spending the whole of every day in their company, and one or two visits to their temporary homes

<sup>1</sup> *J. G. L. S.*, iv, 217.

in London, Manchester, and Nottingham. For many supplementary details I am indebted to Messrs. Ackerley, Bartlett, and Shaw, and to our Honorary Secretary.

If my description seem duller than it should be, that is not entirely my fault: for these Gypsies differed from the normal Gypsy in their extraordinary seriousness and their application to work. Though occasionally they would while away their hours of relaxation with songs and Russian dances, this was generally done when strange *gaže* were present, to whom they might afterwards pass round the hat for baksheesh. When they were alone they spent the time in discussing with desperate earnestness the plans for the next day's campaign and the various chances of obtaining work in different towns or different kinds of factories. Even when they condescended to tell a tale, they generally boiled it down to its bare bones. There were none of the vain repetitions and other artistic devices of the born tale-teller. Plain unvarnished facts were what they seemed to like. So there is some appropriateness, though I fear little amusement, if I confine myself to plain unvarnished facts in treating of them.

#### ITINERARY

The first arrivals were the chief, Nikóla (*alias* Wóršo<sup>1</sup>) Tšóron, with his sons Nikóla (Kóla) and Jáňko, his married daughters Rupúnka and Sophie (Žáža), their husbands Párvalo (*alias* Jáňko) Tšóron and Adam Kírpatš (*alias* Púdamo); his brother Andréas (*alias* Fárdi); Wóršo Kokoiésko and some of the latter's relatives, eight families in all, comprising some forty persons. They came to Liverpool from Marseilles by train about the 27th of May 1911, and camped on a vacant building-plot behind the abattoir. On the 31st they crossed into Cheshire, their ignorance of English enabling them to pass off successfully forty persons as fourteen on the ferry-boat: and in Birkenhead they settled on the

<sup>1</sup> Nikóla was his *gažikáno anár*, Wóršo his *Románo anár*. Most, indeed probably all, of these Gypsies had similar double names; but they showed little ingenuity in the *Románe anáva*, Wóršo and Jáňko being so common that it was impossible to determine the person meant without an explanatory addition. Some of these Romani names appear to correspond with particular *gažo* names; for instance every Andréas in this band seemed to be a Fárdi. But this is probably true only of a limited number of names. Miloš and his family pronounced their surname Tšóron, unlike Nikóla's, who said Tšóron. But their usage in this and other names was not always consistent. For instance, on the gravestone of Sophie, who belonged to Nikóla's party, the name was spelled as Tschuron, while on a plaque worn by Sidónia, a daughter-in-law of Miloš, it is spelled Rumanian wise Cioron.

patch of ground by the railway-line in Green Lane, Tranmere, familiar to many of us as the perennial camping-place of 'big-nosed' Kenza Boswell's family and the Robinsons. For this patch of coal-dust and cinders, where I believe the English Gypsies paid at the rate of about 3s. 6d. a month per tent, the foreigners were charged £9 a month, and later, when the number of tents was increased owing to the return of some of those who had moved to the old drill-hall, an unsuccessful attempt was made to raise this rent. On Saturday, June 17, a second and larger detachment, containing Grántša Tšóron, the father of Nikóla, his sons Jíšwan and Jántši, and his sons-in-law Jóno and Sávolo, with some others, joined the first party and must have brought their number up to nearly a hundred. On the arrival of this party all the first detachment, except Andréas and Adam Kírpatsš, moved with a few of the new arrivals into the old drill-hall, near the ruined priory, where they paid £14 a month, and erected either tents, or, in most cases, only the side canvas of tents with curtains drawn in front at night-time, along each side of the great barn, the chief Nikóla occupying a raised platform near the door.

On July 7 Adam Kírpatsš with his wife and his sick boy went on a pilgrimage to Czenstochoa, stopping, on the return journey, some weeks in Berlin with Míloš and Mátej, and arriving in Birkenhead again about a month later. At the beginning of August there was a quarrel between Nikóla and Wóršo Kokoiésko's relatives, in consequence of which Nikóla, with his sons and sons-in-law, left the drill-hall and returned to the Green Lane camp. Very soon after this the camp began to break up. Andréas was sent to Glasgow on the 10th to spy out the land and find a stopping-place. On the 18th the seven families left in the drill-hall migrated to Dublin, where they settled in South Lotts Road, Ringsend Road; while, about the same time, Nikóla went to London to find a camping-place, and two men, probably Fránkoj, son or son-in-law of Míχail (*alias* Míloš) Tšóron and Jánko son of Džórdži Tšóron (*alias* Tsúrka Deméter),<sup>1</sup> came over from Germany to Birkenhead to see what England was like, and after stopping three days followed Nikóla to London.

It was no doubt these two who were mentioned in the papers

<sup>1</sup> Demeter was his wife's name; but one cannot help suspecting some connection between this person and an older Surga *alias* Georg Demeter, whose son Anton was born at Boncourt in 1850 (A. Dillmann, *Zigeuner-Buch*, München, 1905, p. 57). He was also called Džuri, a familiar form of Džórdži. Mr. Ackerley heard the surname pronounced as Demeter by one of the sons of Míloš.



about the 23rd as having called at the Austro-Hungarian consulate in London for a permit to allow fifty of their tribe to pass through England on their way to America. On the same day the party remaining at Green Lane moved to London, and settled in a yard in Battersea Park Road.

Three days later they were induced by the sanitary authorities to quit, the seven pounds rent, which had been paid for a month's possession, being refunded; and they moved to a house and grounds in Garratt Lane, Wandsworth. Just when they were moving Míxail Tšóron (*alias* Míloš Deméter) with his brother Džórdži and probably Wóršo (*alias* Lólo) Kósmin<sup>1</sup> and his band arrived from the Continent and joined them. For the premises in Garratt Lane £85 were paid for six months' tenure. But a few days after their arrival Míloš and Džórdži with their families took a large house called Cliff Lodge, in Grassenhall Road, Southfields, paying £80 for a half-year's rent. The separation from the others was due to a quarrel of some kind, but what kind I am not sure; and, in spite of it, more or less friendly relations were kept up between the camps. Mátej took another house in Walham Green. The sanitary authorities of Earlsfield were not long in raising objections to the camp in Garratt Lane, and on September 11 Nikóla and Lólo, with their following, left it for Miller's Farm, Beddington Corner, Mitcham, where they paid £12 a month for a field.

The Dublin camp soon got tired of Ireland, and their presence at Folkestone on their way to Spain was noticed in many papers of September 26 and 27.

Shortly after the move to Beddington, Sophie Kírpátš fell ill, and her funeral on October 14 was also freely discussed and illustrated in the press. Towards the end of October complaints of sanitary authorities and interfering neighbours began to be common. Nikóla was summoned to abate a nuisance, and summoned again and fined seven pounds because he had not abated it. The Southfields group were more fortunate; for, in spite of a complaint signed by many of the residents in the district, nothing could be done to evict them from their house, and even so finicking a

<sup>1</sup> The surname was also pronounced Kuzmín at times. Some of the party passed under the name of Maxim or Maximoff; at least three children, named Míška (10), Nikóla (9), and Ivan (7), gave that surname when attending a school at Leeds. One of the family seems to have paid another visit to England this year, as in the *Evening News* for June 11, 1913, there is a notice about the theft of a pocket-book containing French, Canadian, Russian, and Hungarian paper-money from a Russian Gypsy chief named Maximoff, as he passed through London. He went on to Paris.

person as a sanitary inspector could find no holes to pick in its condition.

About the end of November the Beddington party began to split up. First there was the so-called theft of Adam Kírpátš's belt and money, followed by his departure to Spain and thence to Hungary. Then the rest migrated, Nikóla's closer relatives to Glasgow, where they camped at Kelvinhaugh; a party of twenty-six to Dundee, where they paid £5 a month to camp at Wester Chepington Park; another small party to Aberdeen; and the Kósmíns to Leek and thence to Leeds, whither the Southfields detachment followed them about Christmas time. Whether Džórdži and Mátej split off and returned to the Continent then or later I am not sure. When I saw him in the second week of December, Džórdži was intending to join his son and the Kósmíns at Leek; and later I heard that he had gone first to Germany and thence to Cuba, Mátej to Budapest. In Leeds the Kósmíns occupied two houses in Cobourg Street, and Miloš's family four in Crimbles Street and two behind it. In addition they rented a workshop at 30s. a week. This rent was afterwards raised to £5, which they agreed to pay, but did not. A summons was served on Fránkoj; but it is doubtful if he answered to it, as they left almost immediately.

On May the 8th, 1912, András and Jóno reappeared in Liverpool from Belfast, taking lodgings in Duke Street; and they reported that Nikóla with his sons and sons-in-law had sailed a few weeks earlier for South America, making a fruitless call at Madeira on the way. A week later they were joined by Grántša and the rest of the party; and on the 15th they left for London and Dover, whence they set sail for Monte Video.

About the same time the party at Leeds shifted their quarters to Manchester, where they took three houses and a yard in Broughton Lane, Salford, and a neighbouring street. The Kósmíns drifted abroad, first to France and then to Spain; while Miloš and his family moved to Nottingham at the beginning of October, and inhabited two houses in Gregory Boulevard and one with a workshop attached in Prospect Street. They were joined by a brother of Miloš and some others, including Lázó Deméter, who came from France,<sup>1</sup> and about the beginning of March 1913 they

<sup>1</sup> The *Daily Graphic*, February 1, 1913, and other papers of the same date, noticed the arrival of thirty 'Bulgarian' Gypsies at Dover, who were refused admission to the country. They probably were more of the same clan, for the Tsórons at Notting-

shifted their quarters to Bolton-le-Moors. Some of the Deméters left Bolton about the middle of June and stayed a few weeks in Falkner Street, Liverpool, on their way to Montreal.

### ORIGIN

The original home of these people is far from certain; for, though they were free enough in talking of their wanderings, there were many things about which they were strangely secretive. For example, even when I was actually living in the same house with them, our Honorary Secretary was paying nightly visits to them, and both of us were on the best of terms with them, we neither of us heard a word about Andréas's departure to Scotland until he was starting for the station. Nor could we ever get a clear explanation of any of their quarrels and disagreements. Any reason that was given differed in the mouth of each person who gave it; and the statements they made about their origin were equally inconsistent. One of the parties met by Augustus John abroad professed to be Caucasian, which agrees with the description on a picture-postcard sent to Mr. M'Cormick representing Tinka's brother and his family performing in a theatre in Lemberg, Galitsia;<sup>1</sup> the other party claimed to be Russian. The latter statement is the one that Nikóla and his kin always made to us; and there is no doubt they had spent a great many years in Russia. As a trade-name, however, they insisted on calling themselves 'Hungarian coppersmiths'; but that was admittedly only a trade-name. To Dr. Sampson and one other person in Liverpool, and apparently to reporters on their arrival in London, they professed to be Galitsians; and to Mr. A. Machen,<sup>2</sup> Galitsians or Ruthenians. The same claim was made by a party noticed in France in 1907.<sup>3</sup> Nor were the opinions of Russians and other interpreters much more consistent. One declared their dialect was that of the Don Cossacks, while Mr. Sieff thought it was North Russian, an opinion he supported by pointing to their knowledge of Dobrowolski's friend Ivka.<sup>4</sup> A Pole in Liver-

ham, on being shown the illustration in the *Daily Graphic*, recognised them as *amdre Róma*, though they did not seem to be certain who they were. I am told that some of them wore spiral silver buttons as big as saucers!

<sup>1</sup> I spell the name of this part of Austria with *ts* instead of *c* because it is so pronounced, and to avoid confusion with the Spanish Galicia.

<sup>2</sup> *Academy*, December 9, 1911.

<sup>3</sup> *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 136.

<sup>4</sup> *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 190.

pool declared their Polish was bad, and that he found it better to converse with them in Russian. This applies especially to Nikóla and his closer relatives. Sávolo professed to be Hungarian, and so did both Džórdži and Miloš. One of the latter's sons said he was born at Belča; but whether he meant one of the several towns named Belč in Bohemia, or Belz in Galitsia, I do not know. Two men, probably Fránkoj and Jánko, who arrived in advance of Miloš's party, according to the newspapers, called at the Austro-Hungarian consulate for a passport. Miloš's brother, Džórdži, too told me he was negotiating through that consulate for a passport;<sup>1</sup> but it seemed a complicated process. They had referred him to Trieste; and in a letter, which I had to read to him, the authorities at Trieste spoke of information they were endeavouring to obtain from St. Petersburg. I think it referred to his children's birth and military service; but as on that occasion I had to read letters in English, French, German, and Italian, endeavouring to explain them in the same tongues or in Romani according to Džórdži's whim, answer a running fire of questions addressed to me in Romani by the other members of the circle round his fire, and interpret for a friend, all at the same time, I may perhaps be excused if I am not very clear on the point.

They too may perhaps be excused if, in their wanderings, they have almost forgotten the place from which they started. How extensive their wanderings have been may be inferred from the statement of Miloš to Mr. Pohl, a Hungarian friend of Mr. Ferguson, who inquired particularly about them. Miloš declared that he was born at Cracow—one may note that this was where John Čoron,<sup>2</sup> from whom Kopernicki picked up many of his folk-tales thirty or forty years ago, was located in prison<sup>3</sup>—that he left that town twenty-two years ago, and travelled in Russia for about two years, visiting most of the large towns. Then he returned to Cracow, and after a short stay wandered through Silesia to Prague and thence to Vienna and Budapest. He had since visited Transylvania, Croatia, and Slavonia, and three of his sons had married Hungarian Gypsies and another an Italian Gypsy—but these are again to be

<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately none of us ever saw their passports, if they had any; but from remarks made on one occasion it may be doubted whether they were always obtained by straightforward means; so perhaps we did not miss much.

<sup>2</sup> *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 84.

<sup>3</sup> A poor variant of one of these tales ('The fool and his two brothers') was related by Pávolo to me in the small hours of the morning, and will be found in the following article.

taken as very vague terms, meaning probably members of similar tribes temporarily located in, or born in, those countries. From Austria they passed to Italy, where a half-brother bought land and settled; thence to France, where they stayed some four years; and so on, probably through Switzerland to Germany, where they were when Adam Kírpats met them in July.

It was apparently one of the Kósmíns who gave a London reporter<sup>1</sup> a somewhat similar itinerary. He said he was born at Warsaw, left it when five years old, and had since travelled through Hungary, Croatia, Servia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Italy (where he was in 1909), France, and Germany. His view of the party was that they were a mixed band, consisting of Russians (presumably Nikóla and his relatives), Hungarians (presumably Míloš, Džórdži, and Sávolo), and Poles (presumably the Kósmíns). The first arrivals in Birkenhead had travelled as widely, starting from Russia and ending up in Spain, Portugal, and France.<sup>2</sup> One of this group, who wore a Japanese coin, even professed to have been in Japan; but that, I fear, was mere vanity, for they were certainly proud of their wanderings.

They seem to have abandoned the ordinary Gypsy modes of wandering almost entirely, and to travel now by train. But this change is probably quite recent. The first arrivals said they lived in vans until they reached France, and discarded them there.

Communication is kept up between the various bands partly by dictating letters and sending costly telegrams, and partly by the still more costly means of sending messengers. For instance, there came a messenger from Russia to Birkenhead to announce the death of one of the women's relatives. Time and money seemed to be no object on these occasions. Andréas travelled from Scotland or Belfast to Budapest to fetch a *bori*, probably for his son Vasíli, before leaving for America, though the boy is far too young to marry for three or four years; and on my last visit to Míloš's family at Nottingham, I found a youth, one of the Deméters, who had recently come from Paris, possibly also with a view to fetching a wife.<sup>3</sup> But even so they inevitably lose touch with one another

<sup>1</sup> *Daily News*, August 28, 1911.

<sup>2</sup> A photograph of some of their children (Balóka, Andréas *alias* Fárdi, Rajida, Parvoléna, Zága, and two other girls) appeared in *The Sphere*, September 12, 1908, p. 233, over the title 'Group of young Gipsies travelling in Europe.' But that address is rather vague.

<sup>3</sup> This reason was given by women. But their minds are apt to run on such things; and more probably he was sent on in advance by the group who have joined them since.

at times. Nikóla's wife had not seen or heard from her brother, who appeared on the picture-postcard I have already mentioned, for twenty years; and Andréas seemed to know nothing of his sister Térka since she went to Mexico with her husband Tsukúro (Miloš) Deméter thirty years ago.

America must be inundated with similar Gypsies. As well as Nikóla's sister and her husband, these people spoke of a large band who had gone to America some six years ago. A few had returned lately and reported that the rest would follow them, but they never came. Inquiries at shipping agencies resulted in the discovery that the steamer on which they embarked had sunk (*tasjót o paraxódo*). And doubtless some of the constant notices of rich Gypsies, who accuse each other of stealing money or running away with daughters, who probably require little enticement, refer to similar bands. But it is difficult to claim identity. For instance, one would have supposed that the band interviewed by MacLeod<sup>1</sup> was composed of Gypsies similar to our friends, but, when shown the photograph in the *Journal*, they at once pronounced them to be Servian Gypsies.

Their presence all over Europe has been recorded recently. Augustus John has described meetings with closely related bands in France and Italy. Miskow has found others in Denmark and Ehrenborg in Sweden. Miskow's friends have even invaded Iceland—the Tsórons once proposed to go to Greenland when they were looking at a map and taking reckless shots as to their next destination—and ruined themselves for their pains. A photograph taken at Choisy le Roi, of a band of coppersmiths whose dress, tents, and general appearance leave no doubt that they were some of the same clan, was published in *Le Petit Journal* on August 9, 1911. And in the same year there appeared a troop in Budapest under the leadership of Adalbert Quec.<sup>2</sup> He professed to be a Galitsian by birth, and said the nine families under his leadership had met at Warsaw two years ago and formed a band which had since visited Paris, Belgium, Germany, South France, and Trieste. They possessed 200,000 krone. Another band was noticed in France, who deposited double value for articles obtained to mend, and showed large sums of money.<sup>3</sup> Photographs of similar Gypsies in Poland appear in the *Wide World Magazine* for March 1910.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 81.

<sup>2</sup> *Salzburger Volksblatt*, January 18, 1911.

<sup>3</sup> *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 136.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. also Zielinski's account of the Demeters and others who visit Poland (*J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 109).

where one may be seen hammering a pot on the *dópo*. Gypsies with all the characteristics of our friends were described in Rome in 1889 and in 1908.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Ackerley saw a similar band at Libau in Kurland in 1903 or 1904, and heard of others at Lamballe in Brittany in August 1911. Nor has England entirely escaped visits. Miloš's son Tódor had been in England before for a short time, and the chief Nikóla too at some recent date. Possibly both were in the mysterious band, whose arrival at Dover and departure for London were noted in November 1909.<sup>2</sup> Another man had been here, some six years ago, landing with a large party at Hull, and visiting Leeds, Sheffield, and Liverpool on the way to or from America.<sup>3</sup> One of Lólo Kósmin's tribe was born in Liverpool twenty-eight years ago. This date coincides with the well-known invasion of 'Macedonian' Gypsies, and that very mixed band apparently did contain some coppersmiths, as the chief Michael said that in Rumania, presumably his native land, some of his followers made and recleaned copper-pans; and their passports called them Chaudronniers.<sup>4</sup>

Nor are older references to similar bands of Gypsies in Western Europe lacking. About the year 1796 Vidocq met a Gypsy named Caron,<sup>5</sup> which looks very like Wlislöck's Tscharo<sup>6</sup> and our Tšóron, at Lille. He was passing as an itinerant doctor, especially of animals, from which he also removed charms; and he wanted Vidocq to throw some powder into mangers at farms to give him an opportunity of practising his calling. But the chief occupation both of Caron and of the rest of his troupe, some thirty people, who were at Malines, seems to have been "cauring" as described by Borrow in his *Lavolil*. They pretended to give more than their face-value for certain coins, and in picking them out palmed others.<sup>7</sup> Caron's wife and another woman were so expert that

<sup>1</sup> Alfredo Labbati, 'Gli Zingari a Roma' in *Ars et Labor*, December 1908, pp. 930-4; and *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 248.

<sup>2</sup> *J. G. L. S.*, v. 128; and *Daily News*, 20th November 1909.

<sup>3</sup> Probably he was with the band who are mentioned in *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 370.

<sup>4</sup> *Chambers's Journal*, vol. iii. (1886), p. 578.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *The Memoirs of Vidocq . . . translated from the French* (London, 1828-9), vol. i. pp. 55-62, iii. 180-184, iv. 190-193. The name is once spelled Coroin, and Borrow (*Zincali*, J. Lane, 1902, p. 236) spells it Caroun. Possibly he used the original French edition, which I have not been able to see. Other names, omitting French and German *aliases* used by the band, were Langarm, Ruffler, Martin, Sisque, Mich, Litle, old mother Lavio, and Bitehe, which look like a mixture of proper names, Christian names, and nicknames.

<sup>6</sup> *Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke*, p. 60.

<sup>7</sup> This trick is evidently still practised by French Gypsies, as two were arrested for it recently in London (*Morning Advertiser*, February 7, 1913); and, as a Gypsy

they could palm nearly half any number of coins without being noticed. In addition they indulged in picking pockets and in burglary, and two of the women went about dressed as well-to-do widows with the object of taking in the clergy by getting into their confidence and then robbing them. This visit to France and Belgium was not their first. A friend of Vidocq's had seen Caron and another of the band in prison at Ghent some three years before. Probably they had returned to Hungary in the interval, as Caron stated that his mother had been hanged at Temesvar in the previous year. They had spent six months in France just before Vidocq met them, and had made the country too hot for themselves. But later, when he was in the detective force (between 1809 and 1827), they reappeared in Paris, and he had them arrested and imprisoned for theft.

It is disquieting not to find metal-working of any kind mentioned among their trades; but they may have discarded it temporarily for a more lucrative though less honest employment. All the other evidence is in favour of their belonging to the same tribe as our visitors. Those in prison at Ghent had called themselves Moldavian Gypsies; but Caron told Vidocq that his mother, who was hanged last year at Temesvar, belonged to a gang of Gypsies (Bohémiens) who were traversing the frontiers of Hungary and Bannat, where I was born in a village on the Carpathians.' The costume they were wearing when Vidocq first met them was like that of the coppersmiths: 'Under their blue frocks [froek-coats?] ornamented with red embroidery, the men wore blue waistcoats with silver buttons, like the Andalusian muleteers; the clothing of the women was all of one bright colour.' One of the latter was dancing with a turban on her head, which may perhaps have been only the handkerchief worn by all married women. Vidocq refers too to strange songs, 'which I mistook for a funeral psalm,' exactly the impression which would be conveyed to the uninitiated listener by songs sung in the monotonous chant used by the coppersmiths. Besides, metal-working, though no doubt it was always practised by them, may have been of less importance in days when there were greater facilities for obtaining money by easier means. Borrow too mentions prolonged excursions of Moldavian and Hungarian Gypsies in foreign lands, especially in

from Wallachisch-Meseritsch, Mähren, is described as earning his living 'durch betrügerischen Handel mit alten Münzen' (Dillmann, *Zigeuner-Buch*, pp. 44, 45), I infer it is still known farther east too.



Italy and France, from which they returned laden with plunder;<sup>1</sup> but he does not refer to metal-working.

There is no doubt, however, that all these large bands of Wallachian and Hungarian nomads who indulged in wide wandering in the west of Europe were of the same stock as the Calderari, about whom Bataillard was always asking for further information, and that his Calderari were identical with our coppersmiths. He could not hear of their presence in France before 1866, when there appeared a large band of 150 persons, who generally moved about in companies of thirty or forty. These were followed by smaller bands in 1869.<sup>2</sup> Their presence at Saint Jean de Luz in 1868, 1870, 1872, and 1874 is noted by Wentworth Webster,<sup>3</sup> who remarks on the curious fact that in the south of France and Spain they always seem to follow the same route and stop at the same places, whence Groome<sup>4</sup> infers reasonably enough that these journeys have been going on for many years, if not for centuries. De Rochas mentions visits of Hungarian and Moldo-Wallachian Gypsies to the Basque country, and especially a band which he saw himself at Perpignan in 1875 under the leadership of one Georges Micklosich.<sup>5</sup> In 1878 they appeared again at Paris, and Monsieur E. Cartailhac, who was taken with other members of the French Anthropological Society to visit their camp at Saint-Germain, gives a description of it, which leaves no doubt that they were identical with our coppersmiths:

‘La caravane se composait de six à sept voitures portant des tentes, des instruments de travail, des hommes, des femmes et surtout une multitude d’enfants de tous âges. Deux des hommes, qui paraissaient les chefs, étaient ornés de gros boutons ovoïdes en argent. Les femmes avaient dans leur chevelure des pendeloques diverses, parmi lesquelles pas mal de vieilles pièces de monnaie trouées.

‘Les enfants mendiaient avec la plus grande persistance et la plus grande obstination, et, sous ce rapport, bien des adultes se montraient encore enfants.

‘Comme langue, ils comprenaient à peine le français, parlaient assez bien l’italien et couramment le hongrois, ainsi qu’a pu s’en assurer M. de Pulszki.

<sup>1</sup> *Zincali* (J. Lane, 1902), pp. 11, 12, 373.

<sup>2</sup> *Les derniers travaux* (Paris, 1872), p. 5 and the note at the beginning.

<sup>3</sup> *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 77-8.

<sup>4</sup> *Gypsy Folk-tales*, p. xxxix.

<sup>5</sup> *Les Parias de France* (Paris, 1876), pp. 286, 289.

'Ce sont des ferblantiers plutôt que des chaudronniers. Pourtant bien que travaillant plus spécialement le fer, ils font aussi les raccommodages et réparations aux ustensiles de cuivre. Leur plus grand emploi est l'étamage.'<sup>1</sup>

Bataillard also, speaking of earlier bands, calls attention to the large silver buttons, by which they might be recognised, and to 'les pouchdiganes ou grandes caunes' of their chiefs.<sup>2</sup> Pouchdigane is obviously a bad attempt at reproducing the Rumanian word *buzdugan* 'club,' which was known to the Tšórons, though *rovli* was the word they used for their staves.<sup>3</sup> From the few technical terms mentioned in Bataillard's *Les Zlotars*, it appears that the 1878 band employed other Rumanian words which were used by our coppersmiths, e.g. *tsaparik* 'sal ammoniac.' Their bellows were of the same kind too, and for an anvil they used a long iron bar with a small head, which corresponds to the *dópo*.<sup>4</sup>

Obviously these Gypsies were of the same type as the recently noticed bands of coppersmiths. Indeed it is very probable that some of the Tódors were in the camp at Saint-Germain in July 1878, as Joska Dodor was born at Perpignan in 1878 or 1879.<sup>5</sup> The details obtained from the Tódors and their companions show too that Bataillard was wrong in limiting the incursions of these nomads into France to the years following 1866. There must have been bands there in 1849-50, 1855-56, 1859-62. Probably the party who passed through Frankfort in April 1851, and stated that their destination was Algeria,<sup>6</sup> traversed France too. Besides M. de Mortillet, annoyed by Bataillard's suggestion that he had never seen a Gypsy before 1878, asseverated that he had often seen Gypsy *chaudronniers* in Savoy and Dauphiné in his youth,

<sup>1</sup> *Congrès international des sciences anthropologiques*, Paris, 16-21 Août 1878, No. 17 de la série (Paris, 1880), p. 392.

<sup>2</sup> *État de la question* (Paris, 1877), p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> But similar bands, including Deméters, in Poland used the word *buzogany*. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii, 109.

<sup>4</sup> *Les Zlotars* (Paris, 1878), pp. 518, 519.

<sup>5</sup> *J. G. L. S.*, iv, 237. Mr. Ackerley, who has examined some of Bataillard's notes, now at Manchester, since the above was written, has not found any Tódors among the lists of names; but Toikóns and Deméters appear in plenty, which confirms the identity of Bataillard's Calderari and our coppersmiths. He finds also references to visits of Calderari to England in 1868, 1871, 1874, and 1878. As early as *circa* 1760 James Allan, the Northumbrian piper, met a Transylvanian Gypsy tinker in Scotland; but he seems to have come alone with his wife, not in a band of Calderari (J. Thompson, *A New . . . Life of James Allan*, Newcastle, 1828, p. 233).

<sup>6</sup> Groome, *Gypsy Folk-tales*, p. xxxviii. A troop of similar Gypsies was actually seen in Algeria in 1871-2 (Bataillard, *Notes et questions sur les Bohémiens en Algérie*, Paris, 1874, p. 3); and a solitary Hungarian Gypsy among native Gypsies in North Africa *circa* 1889 (*J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii, 120).

and noticed them probably before Bataillard took any interest in Gypsies.<sup>1</sup> If he meant this seriously, he must have been speaking of days before 1840, and unless he referred merely to local tinkers, his testimony would be a valuable link between these later bands and the wanderers mentioned by Borrow and Vidocq.

To return to the problem of their original home. Their statements are too various and too vague to carry any weight without support; but their dialect proves beyond a doubt one thing—that they must have spent centuries in a Rumanian-speaking country. Far the greater number of their loan-words are Rumanian; and among the texts recorded from them was a Romani version of part of a Rumanian national epic 'Novac and Gruja.' Practically all their other loan-words were Slavonic; but there is some evidence that these were of later introduction, as they were used more frequently by the young men than by the old. For example, though they all used the Slavonic loan-word *paračódo* for a steamer, the old people used *bero* for all other vessels; but many of the young people did not know *bero* at all, and used various Slavonic words for different kinds of boats. This was natural enough, as all except some of the children, who had been born since they have been wandering in Western Europe, spoke some Slavonic tongue; but in the whole camp at Liverpool only one old lady, who may have belonged to a different tribe before her marriage, could speak any Rumanian. Rumanian loan-words, too, they seemed to regard as pure Romani. Linguistic evidence then is in favour of their having originated from some Rumanian-speaking country, though for the last hundred years or so they had spent most of their time in Slavonic lands. It cannot have been much less than a hundred years ago that they migrated into Slavonic districts, for even the eighty-seven year old Grántša declared that he spent his youth in Russia.

Rumania would seem the natural place in which to pick up Rumanian loan-words and songs; but I have carefully said a Rumanian-speaking country, because the claims of at least two other countries have to be considered. Galitsia has a fair amount of support. Nikóla's party occasionally claimed to be Galitsians, and so did the Quecs in Budapest; Miloš was born at Cracow, and Kopernicki met John Čoron there thirty or forty years ago. Now the population of Galitsia is fairly evenly divided between Poles and

<sup>1</sup> *Congrès international des sciences anthropologiques*, Paris, 16-21 Août 1878, No. 17 de la série (Paris, 1880), p. 166.

Ruthenians, both Slavonic-speaking peoples, so that the Slavonic loan-words might have been picked up there. But this can hardly have been their original home, as it does not account for the far more important Rumanian element in their language. It seems unlikely, too, that the Tšórons at any rate can have lived there during the lifetime of the present generation; as their Polish was bad; and it is disquieting to find that, though they readily claim to be Galitsians when far away from Galitsia, Tínka's brother, when performing in Galitsia, made no such claim, but apparently stated that he came from the Caucasus. Besides, it is difficult to see how they could have subsisted in Galitsia, if Bataillard is correct in saying that bronze and copper vessels are not used there, earthenware taking their place.<sup>1</sup>

Transylvania has stronger claims. Wliskoeki heard of a Transylvanian Gypsy chieftain, Peter Tscharo, who was slain at Tohan in 1818, while trying to lead his clan into Rumania.<sup>2</sup> His surname must surely be the same as our Tšóron, especially as the *n* was not always clearly sounded.<sup>3</sup> If so, he is sufficient evidence of the presence of some of the clan in Transylvania in 1818. Transylvania, too, and the Banat have the advantage of being full of Rumanians. In that south-eastern corner of Hungary there are ten provinces in which the Rumanian population is as high as 60 to 90 per cent. of the whole, and in eight others it reaches

<sup>1</sup> *Les Zlators*, p. 551.

<sup>2</sup> *Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke*, p. 60.

<sup>3</sup> It has been suggested to me that Tšóron or Tšóro is nothing but a title meaning 'head,' 'chieftain.' But to this there are several objections: (1) It is true that these Gypsies occasionally said *šoro* as well as *šero* for 'head,' but they never said *tšoro*; nor apparently did Wliskoeki's friends, as his form of the word is *ššoro*. (2) The name was not confined to the chief himself. His brothers, sons, and remoter relatives, even the tiny children, if asked for their full name, gave Tšóron as their surname. (3) It was mainly, if not entirely, used in dealings with *gačs*. The chief, for instance, was Nikóla Tšóron to the *gačs* with whom he dealt; but Wóřo Grantšásko to his relatives and friends. This last point makes it exceedingly probable that it is only a *gačs* name which has been adopted, possibly quite recently, since Wóřo (Gáraz), who was son of Kokói *alias* Fanaz (son of Grantšá's brother Gúnia (Zingaro), and first cousin of the chief), used no surname, though he should have been a Tšóron, if Grantšá was. It can, therefore, hardly be a family- or clan-name, like Kiri and Aschani in the instance of a complete Gypsy name given by Wliskoeki (*Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke*, p. 65): 'Ambrusch Petreskro Kiri Aschani'; and, if it were, it would not affect my argument, as it would still be a name and not a title. Kokói, too, may be compared with Kukuyá, a tribal name of Gypsies in Transylvania and Poland (cf. *Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke*, p. 69, and *Ethnologische Mittheilungen aus Ungarn*, iii. 251). But both may be Rumanian names, as Cucu is found as a proper name in Rumania, and *cioră* or *cioroc* (literally 'a crow') is used as a *Spitzname* for Gypsies. I suppose Hermann's Mojsa Ūrar could hardly belong to the Tšóron family, though the dialect of the song he sang (*J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 290-3) is practically identical with theirs.

30 to 60 per cent., and of the 274,940 Gypsies in Hungary in 1893, 67,000 called themselves Rumanians and used Rumanian as their mother-tongue.<sup>1</sup> There would therefore be no difficulty in accounting for the Rumanian loan-words in the coppersmiths' dialect, if they came from Transylvania or the Banat. The dress of the men, too, is perhaps best accounted for in Hungary, where a similar costume was used formerly by *gaže*, and is affected by Gypsy chiefs: for, though one must admit that most of its items may be paralleled from Russia, Poland, and other countries, the red and green stripes on the trousers, it may be noted, are the Austro-Hungarian national colours. Again, these Gypsies use *soba* for a 'room,' the sense it bears among Transylvanian Rumanians, in contradistinction to actual Rumanians, who use it for a 'stove.'<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, it must be admitted that they employ some Rumanian words which are marked as specially Moldavian in dictionaries: that the costume is not very convincing: and that they certainly are not identical with the Rumanian-speaking Gypsies of Transylvania mentioned by Jekelfalussy and Wlislöcki. They do not count Rumanian their mother-tongue, as most of those Gypsies do: and they never use the forms attributed to those Gypsies by Wlislöcki in his *Sprache der transsilvanischen Zigeuner*.<sup>3</sup> So, if these Gypsies were natives of Transylvania, they must have been a small tribe which kept to itself, and does not enter into statistics.

In the case of such incorrigible wanderers as our friends, it is always possible that they may have been equally at home on either side of the Carpathians. Indeed in days when slavery threatened them on both sides, those mountains may have formed a refuge and a connecting link rather than a dividing line. If names are a reliable test there is evidence, besides the presence of a Tšóron in Transylvania in 1818, and another in Galitsia thirty or forty years ago, which points to members of the same clan existing both in Rumania and in Transylvania. Ferencz Sztojka, a Gypsy friend of the Archduke Josef, lived at Nagy-Ida in Transylvania; but Stoica is a Rumanian name,<sup>4</sup> and Con-

<sup>1</sup> Jekelfalussy, *Ergebnisse der in Ungarn am 31. Jänner 1893 durchgeführten Zigeuner-Conscription*, Budapest, 1895.

<sup>2</sup> Constantinescu's Rumanian Gypsies use it for 'stove'; cf. *Probe de limba și literatura Țiganilor*, p. 90, *te des gay la sobăte*.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. p. 59, imperfect with a prefix *ajost*-.

<sup>4</sup> The name Demeter occurs too in Constantinescu in the form Dumitru; and in a list of students and professors at Jassy in 1901-2, I find several persons named

stantinesen collected songs from some of the Stoicas in Rumania. Ferencz Sztojka, however, though, judging by the only specimen of his work that I have seen, he uses mainly Rumanian loan-words, does not seem to have been aware of any Rumanian origin of his own clan, as he refers to other Gypsies in Hungary as speaking Wallachian. From the inverted form of his name it is probable that Kerpages Gyorgy, about whom Seifart wrote an article,<sup>1</sup> which unfortunately I have not been able to see, thought himself a Hungarian; but his name, which must be the same as that of our Adam Kírpátš, is Rumanian.<sup>2</sup> The difficulty in the way of this view is that Maria Theresia's and Josef's laws tried to stop wandering, and until 1856 the Gypsies of Rumania were slaves and ought to have been unable to quit the country. But admittedly some of them were nomadic; and, given nomadic Gypsies, laws and boundaries mean very little. Besides, their slavery was only a matter of custom and not of law till 1816;<sup>3</sup> and custom would be even easier to evade than law. Vidoeq's Carons seem to have had no difficulty in passing from Moldavia to Temesvar: and the vocabularies from Transylvania, the Banat, Bukovina, and Bessarabia, published by Miklosich, show that Rumanian Gypsies spread over all the lands where the Rumanian language was spoken.<sup>4</sup>

#### ORGANISATION

The principle upon which these groups of wanderers are formed is rather a mystery; indeed there seem to be several different and contradictory principles at work. Both patriarchal descent and the rule mentioned by Wliskoeki as observed by some

Dimitriu and Demetriu and a Stoica. Tšoron I cannot find, unless it is a variant of Taranu (*Țăran* means 'peasant'), which appears in the Jassy list; but there are several similarly formed names, e.g. Tiron, Thiron. In the *Statuta nec non liber promotorum philosophorum ordinis in universitate studiorum Jagellonica ab anno 1402 ad a.d. 1849* are quite a number of Thoruns and Thorons, Coszmysns and Kosmysns.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Black's *Bibliography*, s.v. Seifart (Karl).

<sup>2</sup> *Čirpaciš* = a patcher, a botcher, a mender. The word occurs in Vaillant's *Grammaire* as *kírpátš*.

<sup>3</sup> Colucci, *Gli Zingari*, pp. 130-1.

<sup>4</sup> It is noticeable that whereas modern accounts are more apt to refer to these wandering Calderari as Hungarians, in older accounts, for example those of Vidoeq and Borrow, they are more often called Wallachian or Moldavian. Similarly Zielinski (*J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 109) refers to Hungarian Gypsies, Demeters among others, who visit Poland; but he quotes a law of 1624 against vagabond Wallachians (*ib.*, ii. 239). This may point to Wallachia and Moldavia as the original home, and Transylvania as a later centre of the clan, which would account for the use of both Moldavian and Transylvanian words.

Transylvanian Gypsies, that a man enters his wife's clan on marriage,<sup>1</sup> are apparently recognised, though they are self-contradictory. For example, the nucleus of the first arrivals consisted of Grántša Tšóron, aged 87, with his sons Nikóla, Andréas (aged 52), Jišwan, and Jántši, and their children and grandchildren. But three of his married daughters, Vórža, Pavóna, and Rupúnka, with their husbands Jóno, Sávolo, and Tóma, and their families, were also present in Liverpool and London. As Pavóna and Sávolo separated from the rest and returned to Hungary to join the husband's relatives when the camp in London broke up, while Rupúnka and Tóma also disappeared, whither I am not sure, possibly to Spain, and the only other living daughter Térka had gone to America years ago with her husband Míloš Deméter, one might have inferred that this clan was really patriarchal, the adhesion of Vórža and her husband, who went to Monte Video with the rest, to her relatives rather than his being due to some accident. But in that case the chief Nikóla, Grántša's eldest son, ought only to have had his two sons Nikóla and Jánko, with their wives and families, and his unmarried daughter Parvoléna, or Pavléna, with him; whereas he had also his three married daughters, Térka, Rupúnka, and Žáža (Sophie), with their husbands Mórkoš,<sup>2</sup> Párvalo, and Adam Kírpátš, and their children.

Besides, in his case we have definite evidence that Wlislocki's rule was observed by him even to the expulsion of a son-in-law from the tribe on his wife's death and the retention of her children in it. Shortly after Sophie's death in London, the papers were full of the so-called theft of a gold belt containing £400 from Adam Kírpátš, his flight to the Continent on its recovery, and the pursuit by the chief, who took from him his two youngest children at Victoria Station. But a week or two before his flight Adam Kírpátš had told me that he would be leaving the band shortly; and the later arrivals took great pains to assure me that there was no robbery in the case, and that Nikóla, as the wife's father, had a right both to the money and the children. It was *gožreribé* that caused him to concede his right to the eldest child, as that child was subject to fits, half-idiotic and very delicate; while to Zága,

<sup>1</sup> *Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke*, p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> The final *š* of this name was often pronounced very weakly if at all. Murko occurs as a female Christian name and as a family name among Gypsies of South-Eastern Moravia (*J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 226-8).

Adam's daughter by another wife,<sup>1</sup> he of course had no claim. Here again the presence of Zága in the camp shows that the rule is not strictly observed; if it were, she should have been left behind with the first wife's relatives. But, though the later arrivals recognised Nikóla's right, when questioned by Mr. Pohl on the subject, they said that in their family the general practice was for the wife to go with the husband's clan, not the husband with the wife's. However their practice does not seem to have been consistent, as Džórdži's son, who was married to a daughter of Lólo Kósmín, left London with the Kósmíns, while Džórdži himself accepted his identity with his wife's family, at least to the extent of changing his name sometimes from Tšóron to Deméter.:

The presence of the sons and their families with the father instead of with their wife's relatives might be accounted for, if one assumed that all these people claimed to belong to the royal tribe, since Wliskoeki states that an exception to the general rule was made in the case of such persons. But it is much more probable that the rule is dying out, and that the various families follow their own inclination, attaching themselves to any chieftain whose ability and success attracts recruits, even if they are only remotely connected with him. This would account for the presence of Wóršo Kokoíésko and his brothers in Nikóla's camp, though they were only cousins. Adhesion, in such cases at any rate, seems to be voluntary. Wóršo's brethren, for instance, broke off from the others as soon as they quarrelled. How far the chief's authority and power extended it was difficult to judge; but his authority probably depended more on moral force than on any definite powers. For example, Nikóla quite evidently had no authority which enabled him to repress the malcontents in the quarrel at Birkenhead: his voice was merely a powerful one—in every sense of the term—in the general dispute. Nor had he any authority which enabled him to force his recalcitrant son-in-law to render up the money, which he and even disinterested parties like Miloš obviously regarded as rightfully his after his daughter's death. He had to resort to what *gaže* in their ignorance looked upon as theft, though to all the other Gypsies it was only finesse; and it was at the last moment, and apparently by something very like physical force, that he induced him to surrender the two children. So, if any legal jurisdiction existed among themselves, and it is possible that some such thing did exist, since one of the

<sup>1</sup> Adam's first wife was also his aunt.



children once proposed to have a mock *Románo kris*, it was rarely used, and pretty certainly the chief would not have had the sole voice in it.

The adjustment of the quarrel at Birkenhead—which apparently never was adjusted—and all other matters of common concern were discussed in perpetual parliaments (*diwans*), in which all the men took part, the chief presiding. The women were not admitted to such councils, and endeavoured to keep the children quiet for fear of angering the *phuro*—as the chief was often called—when serious matters were under discussion. On the one occasion when the women tried to take part—and that was when the quarrel at Birkenhead was fast threatening to become a fight and not a conference—they were forcibly driven away by the chief and others. But on this occasion, as on most others, his authority seemed to rest on his vigour and energy rather than on any special powers.

Some outward signs of respect were paid to him and his wife by the tribe. We were carefully instructed that the proper modes of addressing them were *káko*<sup>1</sup> and *bíbe*, not *phrúla* and *phénje*, which were used to the rest; and on one occasion when he entered the Green Lane camp as a visitor from the drill-hall, all rose and did not reseat themselves until he had entered a tent. But this uncomfortable ceremony was unusual.

His responsibilities were as hard to determine as his authority. He did not direct the search for work in any way; every man foraged for himself, and such was Nikóla's energy that he generally managed to have the first pick. When work was obtained, he seemed to take the general direction, whether it was his own or other people's; and he seldom did much work himself. According to a Bohemian interpreter, who was with them both in Liverpool and London, he promised the others payment for the work they did for him, but did not give it. It is possible that he regarded such work as his due; though one could not help thinking that his brother Andréas at least, who often worked for him, must have had some share of the profits. He was regarded as rich, and did not seem to obtain as much work himself as many of the others.

In return for work done for him, it was Nikóla who undertook all arrangements. He came to England to spy out the land months before his tribe actually migrated; and, when they did

<sup>1</sup> Miloš was similarly addressed by his party.

migrate, he and a select band came on in advance, and only summoned the others when he had made sure that there was a fair prospect of obtaining work. It was he who found and bargained for the camping-places both in Liverpool and London, whither he again preceded the main body, having dispatched Andréas to investigate Glasgow. And he seems to have contributed largely to the travelling expenses, since he gave *trin mi*—3000 francs presumably—towards the cost of the journey from France to England, his son Nikóla giving 2000.<sup>1</sup> As they had made 20,000 and 10,000 francs respectively in Lisbon not long before, they could probably well afford to do so.<sup>2</sup> And in any case the wealth of the principal members of the band was very considerable. The chief was reported to be worth £30,000. When offering to deposit the value or twice the value of the utensils taken away from factories to mend, they would often pull out pocket-books stuffed with French 100 franc notes, amounting to three or four hundred pounds, besides a handful of large gold coins. The belt stolen from Adam Kírpats in London was said to be worth £150 itself and to contain £300 or £400; and he was looked down upon by the others and regarded as poor. Yet even he could afford to spend £30 on a journey to Czenstochoa in the hope of restoring his child to health.

In the case of illness no expense was spared; Párvalo had undergone a very expensive operation for appendicitis in Paris. Nor were their business transactions conducted on economical principles. They thought nothing of travelling from London to Cardiff on the off-chance of obtaining work there, though one could not conceive how the little they obtained would pay for the railway journeys to and fro and the cost of transport. They were equally reckless of expense in hiring stopping-places, and paid the most absurd sums for very indifferent accommodation. Still, in spite of their considerable expenditure and their grumblings both at the small amount of work they found<sup>3</sup> in England and at the

<sup>1</sup> These separate contributions, and the fact that some members of the band were considered rich and others poor, are sufficient to prove that communism is not practised by these groups as it was said to be by Bataillard's *Calderari* (*Les Zlotars*, p. 549). But Adalbert Quec's band at Budapest asserted that each person drew money once a month from the common purse (*Salzburger Volksblatt*, January 18, 1911).

<sup>2</sup> The whole band there (probably Nikóla and his sons and sons-in-law alone) made 75,000 francs.

<sup>3</sup> Largely due to the fact that enamelled iron has ousted copper from domestic use.

unwillingness of customers to pay well, they seem to have prospered here. Nikóla before leaving London bought a large number of £5 pieces, and few of his following were without them when they appeared in Liverpool on their way to America. Miloš's family too, when I saw them in Nottingham, all wore new £5 pieces in their hair, and his son Tódor's wife said she—or perhaps she meant the whole company—had bought twenty-five.

#### DESCRIPTION

Their appearance was impressive, for most of them carried themselves with the grace and dignity, and behaved with the natural courtliness, which characterises the high-class Gypsy all the world over. Few of them were above medium height, indeed on the average they probably fell below it, though Nikóla, his father, and two of his brothers were not far short of six feet, and the giant Lólo Kósmín must have exceeded that measurement by several inches. Almost all of them were symmetrical and well made, and possessed more strength than one would have supposed. Nikóla, for instance, electrified the first factory I visited with him, by proposing to carry to the station himself a vessel which the manager declared two ordinary men would refuse to lift; and the slight and rather delicate-looking Párvolo on one occasion carried on his back two large copper vessels, which stood more than half his own height and were nearly square, up the long flight of steps from the Birkenhead underground railway. Personal deformities were not unknown, for there were among them one dwarf, one club-footed man,<sup>1</sup> and a child who had fits and appeared more than half idiotic.

Their skin was remarkably clear and sallow, and lacked the darker brown tint and the burnished copper appearance of most true-blooded Gypsies; indeed, according to Mr. Gilliat-Smith, their colour was practically identical with that of the Russian peasantry. But this may have been due to their being less exposed to the elements than the normal wandering Gypsy. In most cases their complexion was thoroughly Gypsy in one respect, that there was no red tint. But there were exceptions, in whom one could not help suspecting some *gažo* blood. Andréas's handsome wife, for instance, was pale and pink-faced, and so were all her children. So too was one of the young women in Miloš's camp,

<sup>1</sup> Mórkoš *alias* Búrda and Jántši.

while another was a round, rosy, apple-cheeked person, whom one would never have taken to be a Gypsy if one had met her away from her surroundings. Such complexions were rarer among the men, though Lólo Kósmín had the appearance of a huge John Bull. There was one other noticeable difference between the men and the women. Whereas most of the men were of the oval-faced, hawk-nosed, highly aristocratic Gypsy type, far the greater number of the women were of the round-faced, snub-nosed type. Some of them were certainly pretty, but very few could be called handsome, while many of the men were strikingly handsome.<sup>1</sup> A few of the women, notably the chief's son Jánko's wife, had an intermediate type of face, square rather than oval, with a small Roman nose, and among the later arrivals were two women and a girl who had the same type of face as the men, while a few men and boys were of the round-faced type; but as a general rule the distinction held good.<sup>2</sup>

The impressiveness of the men was heightened by their bushy black beards, of which they were inordinately proud. Razors were never used; the beard being allowed to grow as soon as it would, which in some cases was very early, for Tódi, aged five, had a distinct fringe round his jaw.

Their dress was even more noticeable than their beards, and indeed they attracted a good deal of attention in the streets. When in their company, one was frequently pestered with questions as to their nationality. The questions were generally prompted by mere curiosity; though once I feared a more sinister meaning when I felt a heavy hand on my shoulder and a thick, half-drunken voice asked if my friend was a Mormon missionary.

<sup>1</sup> MacKitchie in his description of the 'Macedonian Gypsies' of 1885, notes that the men were handsomer than the women (*Chambers's Journal*, vol. iii., p. 579). J. W. Ozanne, *Three Years in Roumania* (London, 1878), p. 62, mentions two types among the Rumanian Gypsies, one with thick lips and crisp hair, the other with regular features, good hair, and an olive complexion. The former, he asserts, are the descendants of 'old emigrants,' by which he seems to mean 'immigrants,' the others of refugees of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The two types are of course common wherever there are Gypsies; but in England at any rate there is no such sex distinction as there seems to be among these coppersmiths.

<sup>2</sup> Wórsó Kokoíésko, whose photo served as frontispiece of the fourth volume of the *Journal*, may be taken as a characteristic specimen of the men. Compare also Augustus John's frontispiece to volume v., which represents these Gypsies, and the illustration on p. 11 of the 1st edition of R. Urban's *Die Zigeuner und das Evangelium* (Striegau, 1906), or p. 21 of the 2nd edition (Striegau, n.d.). The latter shows the tent, the men's costume, and the *dípo* with a pot being hammered on it. But the costume of the women differs in some particulars from that of our coppersmiths. Their skirts are shorter, they have top boots instead of ordinary boots or shoes, and they do not appear to wear coins or ornaments.



FIGURE 1



EDDOR TŠORON AND LIZA HIS WIFE

NOTTINGHAM, 5TH FEBRUARY 1913

Themselves they were sublimely indifferent to any amount of attention; but when, a few evenings after their arrival, they accompanied us to a theatre in Liverpool, they inquired carefully before starting if the *gaže* were *nasul*, and whether they ought to carry pistols. Like the 'German' Gypsies in 1906, apparently they were provided with them and had had necessity to use them in Portugal, where one man had been killed and Párvalo wounded.

The general effect of the costume was that of a uniform. Their black or dark blue coats were decorated with a geometrical pattern of braid (*tšinovi*) back and front, and so were their waistcoats; and there were two rows of huge silver buttons on the coats, one on each side, and one row on the waistcoats. These buttons varied in size and shape, many being as large as, or even larger than, a hen's egg, and shaped more or less like an acorn in its cup. These were heavy—possibly solid—and smooth. Others were smaller, about the size of a walnut, and made of open filigree work.<sup>1</sup> There were six or eight of these buttons in each row, besides smaller buttons on the side pockets of both coat and waistcoat. Miloš wore heavy buttons, which he had had made in Italy, of gold not silver, and decorated with longitudinal bands of beautifully chased decoration in low relief. Adam Kírpats and Nikóla, the husband and father of Sophie, discarded these buttons at her funeral, but the rest wore them. Lólo Kósmín and his sons did not indulge in such ornaments, perhaps because of their relative poverty, perhaps from some difference in custom. Several of Lólo's troop wore ordinary clothes, of an extraordinary cut.

The trousers of those who wore the characteristic costume were baggy, and had wide red and green stripes down the outer sides, generally with braid over them. Nikóla's son, Jánko, said that to wear no braid was the sign of a chief and a chief's son. But Jánko's statements were not always unimpeachable. For example, he also exhibited the stripes to a Russian visitor as a sign that he had served seven years in a Cossack regiment, which was quite impossible, as he was only eighteen; and he admitted that it was not true in subsequent conversation. Possibly they were cast-off military trousers, as the Russian seemed to accept the statement. These trousers were innocent of buttons, being made

<sup>1</sup> Both kinds may be seen on the accompanying photograph of Tódor and his wife. (Fig. 1.) Large silver buttons called *bombiky* are mentioned in an article on the Gypsies of South-Eastern Moravia in *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 228.

like hunting breeches, and kept in place with a belt. They were slit at the ankle, and were wrapped tightly round the legs under the top-boots, and fastened with tapes. The boots were of soft leather, either unadorned or decorated with a stitched pattern, and generally unpolished except in the case of those who considered their personal appearance. When having them mended, they were very particular that the soles also should be of soft (*korlo*) leather, and neither thick nor heavy.

Their shirts were of the same flimsy figured stuff as the women's dresses, the predominant colour being usually red, though Andréas and Nikóla occasionally wore bright blue shirts. The newspapers spoke of two Gypsies, probably Jánko Mixaiésko and Fránkoj, wearing scarlet coats when they first arrived in London; but the Gypsies assured me they did not possess anything of the kind, and it must have been their shirts that the reporter meant. The shirt had a frill collar attached, and full sleeves gathered at the wrist. An old soft felt hat, totally out of harmony with the rest of their costume, generally completed their external outfit, though the party who went to Scotland and Belfast returned resplendent in new green plush hats.<sup>1</sup> When one saw them undressing one was surprised to find that most of the men wore a long white petticoat, reaching nearly to their ankles. This, with their shirts, formed their night garments, and in the day it was twisted round their legs and tucked under their trousers. Socks were generally replaced by a coloured handkerchief or less elaborate rags wound round the feet and ankles.<sup>2</sup> When at work some of them slipped on a pair of loose overalls to protect their trousers, while others, the burly chief in particular, would put on a woman's skirt or a large apron.

Whether this dress is distinctive of any particular nationality I am not prepared to say definitely. They themselves asserted that it was the dress of the Transylvanian Gypsies, and it certainly corresponds in many particulars with the costumes of the Hungarian Gypsy chiefs in Tissot's *L'Hongrie*, though none are quite so prodigal of silver. Braided coats with big buttons are said to be character-

<sup>1</sup> One man in the camp at Beddington, and Miloš when in Bolton, wore fez-shaped caps made of astrakhan or some similar skin; and one or two children wore ordinary fezes, which were bought in France.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Ackerley tells me that this is common among Russian peasants and probably all over Eastern Europe; and, according to Mr. F. Shaw, Matty Cooper always used linen rags for stockings, and often changed them several times in a day.







*Photo. by Control News.*

istic of such Gypsies by Grellmann and Colocci,<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Farga tells me that the Gypsies of Hungary 'try to get hold of the antique Hungarian dresses with shining buttons and elaborate trimmings, etc.' This is very probable, as in England too Gypsy dress is generally only peculiar in being old-fashioned. But top-boots and baggy trousers over them are common in Russia and other Slavonic countries, and braided coats are not unknown there; and 'silver-plated buttons, the size of a pigeon's egg,' are attributed to Lithuanian Gypsies too.<sup>2</sup> In a recent photograph of some German colonists from South Russia, who were emigrating to the United States, the men were wearing top-boots, baggy trousers, and shirts of exactly the same type as these Gypsies, though they did not seem to wear any coats and waistcoats. The Polish Gypsy king, portrayed in the *Wide World Magazine* for March 1910, too, wears a very similar costume. So, though it may be true that it is the costume of Transylvanian Gypsies, it is not very safe to assert that it is worn only by those Gypsies.

The women's raiment, so far as an outside observer, not very observant in such matters, could penetrate into its mysteries, appeared to consist of a flimsy blouse of any bright colour, especially red or yellow, a skirt and an unlimited number of petticoats of the same material. No corsets were worn, and in the case of young girls the blouses were often cut rather low in the neck and short in the sleeves, reaching barely to the elbows. In the winter some of them wore thicker jackets when out of doors. Stockings were generally worn, but not always; and at night no change appeared to be made except that the band on their outer skirts was loosened. Married women and widows always wore a handkerchief on their head, a privilege denied to the unmarried girls. On the subject of the material of their dresses a mere male cannot be expected to know much, and I can only say that once, when in a rash moment I went shopping with the chief's wife, she insisted on being shown all the silks in the shop, and, after rejecting half of them as outrageous in price and the other half as worthless, departed woman-like without making a purchase. But for ordinary wear something less costly was used; and at coronation time dozens of yards of cheap flags were bought and cut up, regardless of pattern, into aprons and children's shirts.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Grellmann, *Historischer Versuch über die Zigeuner*, 2nd ed. (Göttingen, 1787), p. 66; and Colocci, *Gli Zingari*, pp. 190-1.

<sup>2</sup> *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 108.

The women wore ordinary shoes or boots, except that Tínka, who was old enough to know better, occasionally indulged in the vanity of bright scarlet shoes. She was very particular as to the quality, and was prepared, with grumbling, to pay a fairly high price for them. Aprons, and occasionally silk shawls, completed their attire so far as mere utilitarian clothing was concerned. But in the women's case the most important point was vain embellishment. Except when they were travelling, their hair, which was plaited in two tails, hanging one over each shoulder, and daily greased with butter, was adorned with some six huge gold coins in each plait. Other similar coins were hung on strings round their necks, the more the merrier; silver coins were little accounted, and only worn by some young girls. Many of them had coral necklaces too, and bracelets and rings galore. One of Tínka's bracelets was a huge golden serpent as thick as one's thumb, with great emerald eyes glaring from its raised dragon-like head.<sup>1</sup> Most of the men, too, wore large gold rings, and Nikóla had a huge coin in a gold setting hanging from his watch chain. The coins used were gold pieces of every nationality from Japan to America, and one which I pawned for Párvalo was priced by the pawnbroker at £3, 15s. A coin belonging to young Jánko Savolóska was a Spanish gold-piece of Ferdinand VI., dated 1758 and weighing 26.55 grammes; while Zága had an English sovereign of 1790. To use so small a coin as a sovereign was very exceptional. Wóršo Kokoiéska's wife, however, had two sovereigns in each ear, and some had bracelets made of two rows of sovereigns. The usual coins were 100 franc, or in the case of English money £5 pieces, though Tínka had one enormous Turkish coin, which must have been worth considerably more, and some of the women in Manchester wore British gold medals almost three inches in diameter. They were obviously collected in second-hand shops. The coins for pawning were not taken from their wives' hair, as most of the men had a plentiful supply besides; and the pawning was only temporary accommodation, which they seemed to prefer to changing their foreign notes. They always redeemed the pawned coins.

On state occasions the women put on elaborate gold or silver filigree belts. Tódor's wife was wearing a beautifully wrought gold one once when I visited the camp at Southfields, and Sophie was

<sup>1</sup> For this cf. Fig. 2, which with Fig. 1 gives an idea of the women's dress in general.

buried in a massive silver belt. That must, however, have been Adam Kírpats's second-best girdle, as a few weeks later Nikóla tried to get from him, besides sixty Austrian gold pieces, a still more elaborate belt. It is thus described in the *Standard* for November 27, 1911:—'It was as big as a boxer's championship belt and seemed to be all in solid gold. It had 28 £4 gold pieces, in American, French, and Austrian money, let into it, and the gipsy hurriedly explained that these only were gold, and that the massive setting and the hanging tassels were of gilded silver. The belt, he said, was worth about £150.' These belts, which I fancy occasionally served as receptacles for money, were only worn by the women,<sup>1</sup> and it was presumably on the ground that it was his daughter's property that Nikóla claimed it. This explains why Wóršo, son of Mórkoš, aged sixteen, when telling me he contemplated marriage very soon, added in an apologetic kind of way the extraordinary reason that a wife was a handy thing to keep one's money for one.

For the men as well as the women there was an outward and visible sign of matrimony. None but married men carried a stick (*rovli*). The youthful Jánko, who, though married and the father of one child, still lived in his father's tent, had only an ordinary crook-handled walking-stick with chased silver work round the handle. But fathers of families, who had separate tents, carried long silver-headed staves. If they were too poor to afford the silver work, they still carried the plain staff, presumably as a sign of independence.<sup>2</sup> The wood was invariably Malacca cane, some

<sup>1</sup> Silver belts are mentioned by Justinger as worn by the Gypsy dukes and earls in Switzerland in 1419. (*J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 282.) But neither the belts nor the strings of coins in their hair and round their necks appear to be peculiar to Gypsies. 'Plenty of silver waist-clasps and coins completed the costume' of some Albanian women mentioned in Miss M. E. Durham's *Burden of the Balkans* (London, Nelson, *s.a.*, p. 340), and there are other references in the book to women, 'a-dangle with coins' (p. 311), 'gold-coin necklaces' (p. 155), pigtailed ornamented 'with old brass buttons, obsolete Austrian coins' (p. 195), and a 'silver waist-clasp and strings of obsolete Austrian kreutzers, roughly silvered' on a bride (p. 150). In a picture of a 'Tcheremisse girl' in *Harper's Monthly Magazine* (June 1889, p. 11) I notice a string of coins hanging over each shoulder, besides a kind of breastplate of coins, and more in her head-gear. Probably both the belts and the coins are common in the Balkans and Russia. An English Gypsy, one of the Coopers, is described by J. Greenwood (*Odd People in Old Places*, London, n.d., p. 4) as wearing an odd-looking necklace made of shells and teeth and strange-looking coins. But this can hardly be more than a coincidence.

<sup>2</sup> Some of the youths, who were approaching the age of matrimony, had these staves made in preparation for that event, but did not carry them. Jánko Savolóska used a headless staff, asserting that he was not allowed the silver ornaments.

four or five feet in length, and a foot or so at each end was covered with carved silver casing, a gold coin being occasionally let in at the top. To mere *gažo* eyes all these sticks looked alike: but the Gypsies themselves declared that the rest were nothing in comparison with the chief's staff. Certainly it was one of the largest; but the only visible differences between it and others were that, instead of being one straight piece, it tapered inwards about six inches from the top as though a small peg-shaped piece had been fitted on to the top of the straight staff; and that, in place of the ordinary flower work, the carving on the silver represented innumerable little cross-legged Buddhas. In the camp at Southfields there was also a staff, probably belonging to Miloš, on which were carved human figures. They were not cross-legged Buddhas, and unfortunately I did not see them close enough to be able to describe them, but they struck both me and my companion, Mr. F. Shaw, as being of decidedly Indian workmanship. Possibly, then, there may be some traditional Indian forms for stick-heads handed down and used only by chiefs. Nikóla, when questioned about his staff, appeared to know that the figures were Buddhas, and that Buddha was an Indian god. Further questioning only elicited an answer that he had not seen Buddha himself, but copied him from a model; but whether the model was an older stick, or merely a figure of Buddha, seen by chance, I could not find out.

The carving of the silver work was done in most cases<sup>1</sup> by themselves, they declared: and so too were the magnificently carved silver samovar, bucket and tea-tray owned by Nikóla, and the gilded silver goblets, eighteen inches to two feet high, which were occasionally exhibited in the Southfields camp. If this was true, like many foreign Gypsies, they must have been expert silversmiths, though they did not practise the art for gain.

The clothes of the children varied more than those of their parents. Up to the age of five or six, and even older, a simple shirt, of the same flimsy and bright-coloured material as the women's dresses, was sufficient for either sex. These shirts were open and generally unbuttoned nearly to the waist, and appeared to be worn neither for warmth, which they certainly could not have conveyed, nor for decency, for which they often hardly sufficed.

<sup>1</sup> Miloš had his buttons made in Italy, and Milánko, though unmarried, got a stick made in Belfast. According to Tódor, the carving of Nikóla's staff was done for him in Paris: and possibly one must not take their claims to this kind of workmanship very seriously. One may note, however, that Sztojka said the Cabbleri ernähren sich vom Kesselschlecken und Gravieren' (*J. G. L. S.*, vi. 73).



FIGURE 3



*Photo, by Newspaper Illustrations.*

CHILD, SON OF ANDRÉAS TŠÓRON  
WANDSWORTH, 28TH AUGUST 1911



One faun-like creature of seven or eight disported himself in a shirt which barely reached his hips. Even Liza, a most particular and sedate little damsel, who hardly ever played and rolled in the dust with the rest, and who insisted on wearing a *bari rojta* like a grown-up woman at the christening of Wóršo Kokoiésko's baby, though she had the greatest difficulty in keeping it on, habitually paraded herself in a shirt split down the entire length of the back. On one occasion, when we were sitting talking late at night, she discarded even this flimsy fig-leaf, and came and danced before us in her modesty, which considering the enjoyment she showed in the double sense of the word *pharadi*, when a folk-tale in which it occurred was read out, would have been a very inadequate garb for a colder evening. Some of the younger male children possessed knickerbockers and boots, but seldom wore them during the summer. The imp Tódi,<sup>1</sup> for instance, varied his sex in the most bewildering fashion, appearing now in knickerbockers and now in a feminine-looking nightgown. But as soon as they began to realise that they were growing up, they affected more elaborate clothing, in spite of obvious discomfort. Fránik, who only a year or so before must have disported himself in the single rag, sweltered through the hot summer in a navy blue suit of French cut, made of cloth about as thick as a normal carpet. However, the possession of eleven golden coins the size of half-sovereigns as waistcoat-buttons no doubt compensated for the inconvenience. Any country's costume seemed to do for a first suit. Balóka in Liverpool wore the costume of a Savoyard Italian, which the cast of his features favoured; and in London he was gorgeously arrayed in the brightest of crimson shirts and a mountebank's gold-spangled breeches; the epileptic boy possessed a red plush coat; while Vasili, who was very little older than them, affected an exact reproduction of the men's costume, filigree silver buttons and all.<sup>2</sup> But Vasili was a spoiled eldest son and took himself seriously, and once I found him standing before a looking-glass, adjusting his hat, trying the effect of a newly acquired cigarette-holder, and commenting aloud on his general appearance as *but šukar*, an opinion which in my heart of hearts I fully endorsed, though I could not but reprove him for his feminine vanity.

<sup>1</sup> For this name cf. Paspati's Tódis (*Études sur les Tchinghianés*, p. 631). An affectionate diminutive Todika was used too; with which one may perhaps compare Paspati's Babikis, Nenékis.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Fig. 3.

## DWELLINGS AND CUSTOMS

Their tents were practically all made according to one pattern, which with slight variations appears to be universal on the Continent, the tents used by English Gypsies being of fairly modern origin, and a separate development. In putting up these tents, they begin by making a hole eighteen inches deep in the ground with the *dópo*, a great nail-shaped piece of iron some five feet long, which serves as a kind of anvil on which to balance the copper pots when they are being beaten.<sup>1</sup> In this hole they fix an upright post (Paspatis's *beli*), some eight or nine feet in height and five inches in diameter;<sup>2</sup> and then balancing themselves on a rickety ladder lodged against the pole they tie or nail to the top of it the thick end of a longer pole, the *beránd*. Over this second pole they stretch a huge piece of sail-cloth (*poxtán*), water-proofed (*makhló*) if procurable, fastening it tightly round the top of the vertical post—an operation which entails still more precarious balancing on the ladder—and also to a point near the other end of the *beránd*. Then two more undressed poles, tied together at their thin ends, are brought and the loose end of the *beránd* is placed in the crutch formed by the tying. By raising the cross ends, and with them the *beránd* and canvas, until they are some ten feet from the ground, a triangular entry to the tent is formed, the lower thick ends of the two front poles not being sunk into the earth but merely resting on it. The canvas is then pinned out, the space enclosed being roughly a triangular prism, although the *beránd* slopes slightly upwards to the front. The back end of the tent is closed with canvas, usually sewn to the side cloths. The front was left open in some cases, and only covered partially at night, but generally two or three short poles were fixed in the earth a little distance away from the front of the tent and a regular 'balk' made. In wet weather trenches were dug round the tents.<sup>3</sup>

Though unfortunately I took no measurements of a tent, an idea of the size and cost may be formed from the purchases made on one occasion by the chief after a whole morning's haggling. He bought a piece of white sail-cloth with red stripes

<sup>1</sup> For the *dópo* cf. Fig. 6 and p. 290.

<sup>2</sup> In many foreign Gypsies' tents this pole is not used, and the *beránd* slopes down to the ground at the back of the tent.

<sup>3</sup> For a tent in process of building cf. Fig. 4; for the general appearance of tents, Fig. 5; and for a 'balk', Fig. 6.

FIGURE 4



*Photo, by London News Agency.*

ERECTING A TENT

FIGURE 5



*Photo, by Daily Mirror.*

ENCAMPMENT AT MITCHAM

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ations

(*poxtán lole dromensa*) 59 yards long (*lungo*) and 50 inches wide (*bughlo*). This he required to be sewed together in five strips of eleven and a half yards: and for the cloth ready sewn, with tags for the pegs to pass through, an extra bit sewn on to strengthen it at the place where it is fastened to the *beránd*, and a rope inserted in the front hem, after much bargaining he agreed to pay £8, a price which he professed at any rate to consider very high compared with foreign prices.

A tent varying in shape from that here described was built by Adam Kírpats after his return from Czenstochoa. It was roughly in the shape of a house, having four upright posts at the corners surmounted by sloping poles to make a gable, and, if I remember rightly, a centre post in the front as well as the back. Párvolo's tent too had four posts, though it was otherwise normal. The tents erected by Miloš and Džórdži at Southfields are described in the papers as 'conical.' Unfortunately I saw them mainly in the dark; but, so far as my recollection goes, they were octagonal, with poles some six feet in height, and the roof sloped together at the top so that they looked more like bell-tents in shape than like the ordinary tent. They differed also from the tents at Birkenhead and Beddington in having wooden floors raised a few inches from the ground.

All tents were carpeted, except in the 'balk' which was used for rough house-work, and the carpets were swept frequently. These carpets were apparently picked up in second-hand shops, as several times, when I was out with them, they haggled for a carpet, but invariably rejected it as too dear. The chief indulged in the luxury of a drawing-room suite of luxuriously padded armchairs and a sofa, which were ranged along the back of his tent; but it was only when *gažo* visitors were present that he put himself to the discomfort of sitting on them.<sup>1</sup>

The other tents were innocent of such refinement, and the main articles of furniture—if they can be called articles of furniture—were the *šeránds*, eiderdown-beds as large and as thick as normal-sized feather-beds. Of these each family must have possessed from a dozen to twenty, and of an evening one would find them piled up on each side of the tent to a height of three or four feet. It was between these things that they slept even in the hottest of weather, with one or more underneath

<sup>1</sup> Usually, of course, they sat on the ground in the traditional Gypsy attitude.

them, one above, and another behind as a pillow; and why the children were not smothered is a mystery to me, as in the morning one would see them crawling out from underneath a huge *šeránd* with which they had been covered head and all. During the day these *šeránds* were always carefully taken out of the tents and thrown over palings or on the ground to air, except that one was generally left in the tent to tempt the unwary to sit on it, until he was warned by a scream from some agitated mother, and on looking carefully found an infant almost buried in its depths. For, though Vóla occasionally fitted up a hammock-cradle for her infant, little Rái, the *šeránd* was the usual cradle as well as bed. Even in the railway train, when the family was migrating, these *šeránds* were not all packed up as luggage, but some were taken into the carriages and piled on the seats and on the floor to sit and loll on. They were covered with the same gaudy and flimsy material of which the women's clothes and the children's shirts were made, and the covers were changed frequently, which, as they would bear little washing, added to the women's interminable sewing. Judging by their softness and lightness, they must all have been made of the purest eiderdown, and their value must have been considerable. The only normal eiderdown quilt which I saw in the camp was counted of so little value in comparison that it was used as a carpet for children to play on.

There was little else to be seen in the tents except perhaps some ornamental drapery and a few pictures (*ikons*) hung on the back wall. These were chiefly religious subjects,<sup>1</sup> for example the virgin of Czenstochoa, but some had photographs too and picture advertisements, or even regimental memorials, probably to keep up the appearance of having fulfilled their military service. Then there was the table (*skafidi*), some four feet in diameter and fourteen inches off the ground, supported by four legs and quaintly painted.<sup>2</sup> This, however, was generally rolled away in a corner except at meal-times. More prominent was the samovar which was in constant use. For ordinary occasions they had common brass or silver-plated samovars: but for distinguished visitors the

<sup>1</sup> They were of a Byzantine type, such as are commonly used by members of the Orthodox church.

<sup>2</sup> A round table about three inches off the ground is universal in Albania (cf. M. E. Durham, *The Burden of the Balkans*, p. 144). Similar tables are used in South-eastern Europe by nations who do not use chairs, and, as with these Gypsies, they are rolled away after use.

chief would produce a magnificent solid silver samovar weighing twenty-three pounds, and Párvalo and others claimed to own similar treasures. The chief's was ornamented with tasteful decorations in high relief, which he said he had executed himself; and he produced a similarly decorated silver salver and a huge silver bucket, nearly twice the size of an ordinary bucket, which was used to hold wine on festive occasions. Miloš too had two huge wine-cups, some eighteen inches in height and shaped like tumblers. They looked like gold, though he said they were gilded silver. But these things were only brought out occasionally for exhibition: generally they were hidden away in the trunks and boxes, which stood at the back of the tents. At Bolton Miloš also produced a beautifully embossed silver flagon, about eight inches high, with a lid, handle, and small spout, which Tódor said was made by one of his uncles.

Domestic animals they did not keep as much as most Gypsies, perhaps because their mode of travelling rendered it difficult to transport them. But the chief owned a despicable little mongrel dog, and some others had small birds in cages.

When they became house-dwellers they, like most English Gypsies under the same circumstances, simply camped in one room of the house and left the others untenanted. This was the case in the mansion at Southfields, at Manchester, at Leeds, and even at Nottingham, where the four families who were there had between them three houses. They stocked their *šeránds* and their other belongings in the kitchen and lived there, though visitors were invited into a normally, but rather scantily furnished sitting-room.<sup>1</sup> For each of these houses they were paying £2 a month, and one family indulged in the luxury of an English maid-servant. Though quite familiar with such modern refinements as the telephone, they have a horror of gas, and have it cut off in the houses they inhabit. On one occasion, when Jánko and I spent a night in Leeds—and if any one wants an unpleasant hour or more, may I recommend him to set out without baggage and with a wild and not over clean-looking Gypsy coppersmith and try to find a hotel that will take him and his companion in—Jánko was so afraid of the gas that he left it burning all night.<sup>2</sup> He also slept on the top of the bed in his clothes.

<sup>1</sup> The furniture was hired or bought by the Gypsies and did not go with the house.

<sup>2</sup> At Nottingham, however, Miloš's tribe seem to have been reconciled to gas.

Still their habits in some respects were more like those of house-dwellers than of the normal tent-dweller. They usually sat up till well after midnight. Consequently, except for two old widows who retired and rose before the rest of the camp, they were not early risers. Once indeed a man at Birkenhead was inspired to start beating a copper pot directly under my window at five o'clock in the morning; but normally it was nearer ten than nine when the men drifted drowsily, cigarette in mouth, into the yard, only just out of bed. Sometimes business would call them into the town earlier. If so, they departed breakfastless, making up for it at times by a cup of tea on the way, but often marching all day, or at any rate till midday, in the raging heat, oblivious of food and drink, so long as there was a factory chimney in sight. Otherwise they would start hammering a pot in a desultory fashion while the women boiled water in the samovars, and then drop off, one by one, as the children called them, to take a glass—glasses not cups were used—of tea and some bread and butter. About eleven they settled down to work, and work appeared to go on unceasingly until darkness put a stop to it. Nor did night always bring rest from labour. The only evening I was in the camp at Beddington, many of them were working in their tents by lamp-light, and when I reached Mitcham Junction close on midnight, the sound of their hammering was still audible at more than a mile's distance.

Of course rests were taken, and men would saunter to the tents and disappear temporarily, presumably to partake of the contents of stew-pots, which were frequently to be seen on the fires; but no general breaks occurred at meal-times, and indeed when they fed was rather a mystery to me. Perhaps one who had not forsworn meat and tea, the staples of their diet, and who was less averse to female society, might have penetrated the mystery; but there was little inducement for them to invite me to partake of what they knew would have been refused. At first, when they had no work to do in the camp, the main meal of the day seemed to be taken about five or six o'clock, when they returned from commercial travelling: but afterwards this habit was broken, and the only fixed rule was that as soon as work was discarded in the evening they settled down to tea and bread and butter, with occasional additions in the shape of red herrings or rice pudding. But their diet appeared to consist almost exclusively of fowl. Once I saw two loins of mutton, a goose and three fowls all waiting together in one pan to be cooked; and Tódor at Nottingham invited Mr.



Atkinson and myself to sit down to a meal consisting of stewed meat, besides a fowl, vegetables, and stewed pears. The fowls were generally bought alive, and seemed to be chosen rather for their size than for their tenderness; but as they were invariably boiled, this presumably made little difference. Of English meat they had no high opinion, complaining that it was too hard to eat; nor, judging by the chief's remarks and treatment of the edibles set before him on one or two occasions when I saw him feed in a restaurant or hotel, had they any high opinion of English cooking. Almost all their meat was boiled, and they used nothing in the shape of an oven: but occasionally things were fried.

Their table-manners differed in a few particulars from those of English Gypsies. They used a circular table (*skafidi*), but seldom condescended to employ knives and forks. Fowls were dismembered by the simple process of pulling them limb from limb with the fingers, while the younger children sat round and helped themselves to spoonfuls of the broth in which they had been stewed. Bread was torn to pieces and buttered by smearing it in the butter, which, either by choice or through the accident of the hot weather, was always in a semi-liquid condition. Andréas's family, whose pink faces perhaps denoted an admixture of *gažo* blood, generally used knives for spreading butter on bread; and Párvolo, when questioned as to their habit, responded with a shrug and a lapse into bad grammar, *χάσα šuriása, bi-šuriása*.<sup>1</sup> The omission to use cutlery was certainly not due to ignorance of its use. When they took a meal in a restaurant they were perfectly at home with all the table accoutrements; indeed the chief made a point of lunching in respectable restaurants, and afterwards spoiling the magnificence of his appearance and conduct by touting for orders in the kitchen when his meal was finished. Tea was generally drunk without milk, but with a liberal allowance of sugar, and it was the universal beverage and freely indulged in.

Alcoholic drinks they seldom touched. At first some of them—women especially—seemed to have some little hankering after the wine they had left behind them in France; at all events they did not deny themselves the pleasure of begging for gifts of bottles. When Mr. Ackerley visited them at Bolton on April 17, 1913, there was some special festival in honour of which they were drinking wine. But even then it was rather an abstemious proceeding, as they mixed Bordeaux with gingerbeer. On this occasion

<sup>1</sup> He corrected himself to *bi-šuriáke*.

Mr. Ackerley noticed one odd ceremony, that the first glass used was dipped into the flagon before it was filled, but none of the others. Usually even the hottest of days and weariest of walks failed to raise a thirst in them; and it was only when there was absolutely no other way of killing a half-hour before the return of some human manager of a factory who was taking his lunch and a healthy drink with it, that they could be induced grudgingly to consume a small glass of lager beer. Even then Jánko, aged eighteen and already married and a father, considered himself too young for such powerful liquor. Occasional drinking bouts were talked of. News came, for instance, from Trieste that there had been a fight among some of their relatives there, resulting in the death of one or more, and Párvolo explained *pili, matili hai marde pe*. Fréštík too related how, when he was a child, Andréas in Bacchic frenzy had hit him on the head so hard that for a month he was rendered idiotic, and when he recovered had forgotten Romani and had to learn it again. And once, under the corrupting influence of a *Romano Raj*, who shall be nameless, the sedate Andréas drank six bottles of lager in as many minutes and danced and sang. But this was an aberration, and therefore excusable, as it did not interfere with the ruling passion for money-making. For that I am convinced was at the bottom of their abstinence, far more than any abstract appreciation for sobriety. Lólo Kósmín, the one person who had any real tendency to drink, was looked down upon, because it made him poor in comparison with the rest; and even he, if Džórdži Deméter (who at the time had a grievance against him for tearing eight gold coins out of Džórdži's wife's hair and not returning them) could be believed, was at his best when other people paid for the drink. And his best was not bad, indeed his capacity was as enormous as his person; for—again if Džórdži can be trusted—he was capable of drinking ten tumblers of neat brandy (*urákia*) on end.

But Lólo was a music-hall artiste, not a coppersmith, and suffered from the artistic temperament, in which the others, unlike most Gypsies, seemed to be rather deficient. It is true that, if the silver work they claimed to have executed themselves was really done by them, then they had considerable talent in that direction. But there is no evidence save their word that it was done by them; and in some cases the stick-heads were admittedly carved by *gaže*. None of them could play the violin, and only one of the first arrivals could play an accordion, and he did it pretty badly.

Indeed for music they fell back on the insidious gramophone, of which Nikóla possessed a rather good specimen. Most of them could sing to their own satisfaction; but to the ordinary uninitiated western hearer it was a very monotonous performance. To me—speaking as an entirely unmusical person—it sounded very similar to the monotonous chant in which one hears Italian peasants, and Arab camel-drivers too for that matter, indulging at their work: similar melodies are probably common in southern and eastern countries. Tínka's brother, however, must have had musical ability, as he and his family dance and play in theatres, and Lólo Kósmín and his tribe are all music-hall artistes by profession, and only coppersmiths when they fail to obtain other work. Presumably they are competent artistes, as they were said to have obtained an engagement to perform at the Alhambra in London, but to have thrown it up because they were asked to have a second rehearsal.<sup>1</sup> One of Lólo's nieces or daughters, aged fifteen, sang *Aj! Lumaj, lumaj, luludja* in a theatre at Leeds; and one evening at Manchester she favoured us with this and many other songs—several of which Mr. Gilliat-Smith, who was present, recognised as popular among the Sofia Gypsies—in about seven different languages. But her voice, though surprisingly strong for a young girl, seemed to me unpleasantly harsh. Indeed, like the voice of the only English Gypsy girl of my acquaintance who has sung in public and won prizes in singing competitions, it reminded me of a gramophone. Perhaps, however, both were heard under bad conditions in a small room. The rest of the troop I did not hear perform, except that one afternoon in London two of the men strummed on a guitar and a mandoline<sup>2</sup> and sang in the same monotonous style as the Tšórons.

At step-dancing they were more expert: and in it they obviously took a keen interest. They were always asking to be taken to a theatre where they could see dancing, and at a variety entertainment they hung in breathless excitement on every step of the step-dancer, while they welcomed pirouetting ladies with little enthusiasm. Though the girls and women professed to be able to dance and occasionally practised, yet strangely on such occasions as the tribe indulged in dancing themselves, which was generally on Sundays, it was only the men who performed; and one evening,

<sup>1</sup> Leland met 'a very picturesque company of Roumanian Romanys, who both sing and play,' at Stockholm in 1889 (*J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 317).

<sup>2</sup> Vánia Kósmín, I am told, played the mandoline rather well.

when they treated us to a short dramatic entertainment, in which one man acted as though drunk (*kerdel mato*) and carried on a dialogue—in Russian unfortunately—with his wife, it was the younger Nikóla who donned feminine garments over his other clothes, threw a veil over his head and took the female part. This recalls significantly what W. V. Herbert says of the Gypsies of the Balkan States: 'The boy dances, generally in girl's clothes—a peculiar tribal custom of which I have been unable to discern origin or purport, for a certain state of things is, and always has been, so generally and openly acknowledged as an existing fact throughout the Orient, that any dissimulation would seem superfluous.'<sup>1</sup> It may perhaps be worth adding that the 'state of things' so delicately hinted at by Mr. Herbert was quite as openly acknowledged among these Gypsies as in any Oriental nation, and similarly regarded as perfectly natural. Allowing for this Oriental trait, the morals of the whole party, men and women, were above reproach.

They knew a little about boxing and wrestling, but, besides dancing, the only form of entertainment they seemed to take any enthusiastic interest in was card-playing. Even the tiny children learned 'banker' almost without teaching; and their elders on one occasion spent an entire night playing some game, which none of us who were present at the beginning knew. Unfortunately my absolute ignorance of cards prevents me from describing it, though I watched it for several hours. Mr. Ackerley saw them play a Russian game called *duratški*; and I quote his description of it. 'All cards below nine are removed. Two people play. Six cards are dealt to each, and a trump turned up. The players may substitute cards from their hands for this trump; but I am not clear as to what circumstances make this allowable. After every trick the players draw one card each from the pack, the winner of the trick drawing first. The last draw includes the trump card. Points are scored according to the number of court cards (including tens) in the tricks. If they are equal, there is a count-out of values. In one instance a player counted out to seventy-two, and announced that the other would have sixty-six. He scored either one or two points for this. Eight points make the game.' This can hardly have been the game they played on the occasion when they kept it up all night, as more than two were playing then. Needless to say

<sup>1</sup> *By-paths in the Balkans* (London, 1906), p. 40.

they played for money; otherwise they would probably have taken little interest in the occupation.

The children seemed rather deficient in games; begging being the one at which they were most expert. But they were utterly free from the dishonesty with which visitors to such camps often charge the children. Those with whom we were most intimate would rifle all our pockets to see if we had brought them sweets or other gifts; but, though they begged for nearly every article as they abstracted it, they invariably returned them all: nor would they take such liberties with any one else. Of actual games I noticed only 'pitch and toss' (*arjól, arjéska*), 'knuckle-bones'; an infantile game called *kóvlo vast*, which consisted in taking a child's arm by the wrist, the hand being allowed to hang loose, and trying to shake the latter so that the child hit its own face; and a game which somewhat resembled 'tip-cat.' The latter was played with a cylindrical billet of wood about four inches long and three inches in diameter, shaped roughly like a large reel of cotton with a pen-handle inserted in the hole and projecting about four inches at one end. A metal ring about three inches in diameter was dangled by a piece of string, and the game consisted in passing the ring over the projecting wooden axis, jerking the billet into the air and catching it before it fell to the ground. These, however, were but vain toys; and even the children seemed happier when engaged in the business of begging.

### TRADES

At quite an early age they put off childish things, and took to the serious occupation of beating copper pans, and the no less arduous task of searching for the pans to beat. What the latter was like I know from bitter experience gained in many weary days of commercial travelling with them in tropical heat round Liverpool, round Birkenhead, round Manchester, and even as far as Leeds.<sup>1</sup> For they spared neither time nor money in their search for work, when in Liverpool going to all the places mentioned and to the Isle of Man. Later they told me that since they had been in London they had visited Cambridge, Eton, Cardiff and other Welsh towns. Day after day, with one or other of them, I tramped miles upon miles, starting with the idea of visiting certain

<sup>1</sup> When unattended by myself they often engaged an interpreter to accompany them, paying him 2s. a day. One Bohemian youth practically lived with them, and accompanied them from Liverpool to London, Glasgow, and South America.

factories, but deflecting at the sight of every large chimney, every big hotel, and, when with Wóršo Kokoiésko, almost every open door. And I earned little gratitude because of my signal ill-success in wringing orders from people, who often had no copper pots—and certainly none that required mending; who had their own copper-smiths on the premises; or who had been visited twenty times already by other members of the band. Sweet, confectionery, biscuit, and jam manufactories, chemical and dye-works, hotels, restaurants, hospitals, breweries, distilleries, places where woollen cloth and felt hats were made, even workhouses, all offered a field for their importunity. The foraging was not organised in any way, the result being that often one firm would be pestered by visits of company after company of coppersmiths on the same day, and the least success of one of the number in any factory aroused the others to a perfect pitch of frenzy in attacking similar establishments. Assurances that there was no work to give them were quite unavailing. 'Then tell him to let me see his works'—or 'his kitchen'—was invariably the next request. If, as was usually the case, the man reasonably objected to showing wild heathen over his establishment, that too did not discourage them. 'Make him show me a pot (*Pen les te sikavél man jek kekávi*), *te dikháú la fórmu*.' Presumably this meant 'that I may see the shape'; but I was never very sure of it: and I think, if they had realised my ingenuity in devising various reasons for refusing the request, they might have had a higher opinion of me. For indeed my modesty rebelled at importunity beyond a certain point; and frequently part of the time they intended me to spend in exorbitant demands, for such they were rather than requests, I spent in offering profuse apologies for their unreasonableness. To them nothing seemed impertinent: the methods of an American commercial traveller would have struck them as bashful and retiring. I have seen, and tremblingly accompanied, Wóršo, when he pushed open a half-closed door, traversed a long passage, descended a flight of steps, opened another door, and stood quite unabashed with a half-pleased, half-disappointed air, looking in at the dressing-room of a millinery establishment, and nodding reassuringly to its frightened occupants. Nor was anything impossible to them. During the first day on which I went out with the chief, we visited a factory where the manager was distinctly averse to foreigners, and declared he had a contract with a firm to repair his pans, and consequently had no work to give. The only foreigner on the

premises, a Belgian youth learning English methods of trade, remembered having seen similar Gypsies in Belgium two years ago, and pointed out that they had been banished from the realm. But there were two large copper pans, more than six feet in diameter, packed on a cart ready for dispatch to the contractor, and Nikóla intended to get one—and, after half an hour's frantic discussion, he did get one, and with it a written contract that, if he repaired it satisfactorily gratis, he should have twenty-five more!

Of written contracts they fully appreciated the worth—so far as it told on their side; but they never seemed to realise that failure to fulfil their part of the agreement exonerated the other party; or perhaps they considered that being in possession of the copper pot and of unlimited assurance, they were not likely to come to much harm. Anyhow they broke their promises recklessly. The chief, for instance, on that occasion repaired the first pan well and did it up to time; but when given four more he kept them some weeks longer than the contract permitted, protested strongly against allowing the pots to be taken home and examined before payment was made, and demanded an exorbitant sum, some £200, for his work. Finally, when both parties had put the affair in lawyers' hands, he agreed to take £65. Again, Párvolo succeeded in carrying off a pan, which only required slight patching and was in daily use, from a dye-works in Manchester after six o'clock one evening, with a promise that he would return it by eight o'clock next morning. At nine o'clock the next morning I looked down from my room on to Párvolo's tent, into which I could see, and Párvolo was sleeping peacefully. At 10.30 I found him, just out of bed, squatting bird-wise on the edge of the pan smoking a cigarette; and he smiled as I approached, and said to me: 'This is the pan I promised to take back by eight this morning. To-day or to-morrow you must write a letter for me, telling the man to come here and see it weighed before I begin it.' I believe on this occasion no date was stipulated in the contract, but the pan lay untouched for three weeks, and then, just before they left Birkenhead, he sent a telegram to the owner telling him to come at once and fetch his pot, or it would be taken away.

The contract that they insisted on having was one authorizing them to repair a pan, the owner paying four shillings a pound for the new copper added and being allowed one shilling a pound for the old copper taken out. Work was thrown in gratis, and no

stipulation was ever made as to the amount of repairing that was to be done. This latter omission was one which caused constant complaints on the part of the unwary manufacturer, who imagined that his instructions to repair only meant patching up a crack, and found that a new bottom had been inserted, and the whole pan heated, hammered, re-tinned inside, and furbished up until it looked like a new one. Insistence on their part that it was as good as a new one—which may have been true—did not better matters, when the price charged was at least as much as the pot had originally cost and sometimes more. In one case Wóršo's brothers demanded £10 for repairing a pan which the owner showed me in a price-list marked at £8 new; and, after an hour or more of squabbling, they succeeded in obtaining the money, possibly because the owner, a mineral-water manufacturer, was too busy owing to the hot weather to be able to devote more time to the matter.

Besides, they would descend to any means to extort the money. On this occasion the pot had been taken back on a Saturday, and when the owner had refused to pay them till Monday, they had begged for an advance on the score of starvation during the week-end, coming down from £5 to 2s., which he gave them. There may have been some little truth in the plea of poverty, as Wóršo and his brothers, who had done the pot, were always referred to as desperately poor; and on one occasion the chief, who perhaps took some responsibility in such cases, was seen to give Wóršo's wife a packet of tea out of his own pocket. But one could never rely on such pleas. Two members of the band once called at Messrs. W. H. Flett & Co.'s jam factory, and after unsuccessfully soliciting orders with abject pleas of poverty and starvation, thrust into the astonished manager's hands, in order that he might not be afraid to trust them, a handful of large gold coins worth seventy or eighty pounds!

How the exorbitant prices they charged were reached appeared to be a mystery to the manufacturers, several of whom suggested, with emphasis, that the weighing had something to do with it. Certainly the mention of weighing was always kept in the background till the pot was safely in the camp, and then the owner was requested to come and see it done. He came fuming at having his time wasted in a special excursion to Birkenhead, and his wrath did not decrease when he found that his pot was weighed on an uncertified machine with foreign weights. The incredulous asked how they were to know whether the weights used for the preliminary and



final weighings were the same; and that was a question I always found hard to answer. Certainly there was something that made repairing exceptionally profitable, more profitable than the making of vessels. Make things they would not, and either refused the offers point-blank, or left them unfulfilled; but any battered pan that would usually be disposed of for old metal was good enough to mend. There is little doubt, however, that those who suggested the possibility of juggling with the scales did the Gypsies an injustice. The following estimate, worked out from details given by a Liverpool firm, who employed the coppersmiths to mend a pot which had cost £12 when new, will show that, even without fraud, their profit was considerable. The contract was the usual one, but to simplify the calculations the price to be paid for new copper (including work) is taken at 3s. instead of 4s., on the assumption that the weight of new copper added was equal to the weight of old copper removed, and allowed for at the rate of 1s. a pound.

	cwt.	qr.	lbs.	lbs.
Original weight of pot, . . . . .	1	1	8 or	148
Weight after removing bottom, . . . . .		2	21 or	77
Old copper removed = new copper added, . . . . .		2	15 or	<u>71</u>

#### *The Firm's Payments:*

71 lbs. of copper (and work) at 3s., . . . . .	£10	13	0
71 lbs. of old copper, worth 4½d. a lb., . . . . .		1	6 7½
	£11	19	<u>7½</u>

#### *The Gypsies' expenses:*

71 lbs. of new copper at 9½d., . . . . .	£2	16	2½
Labour: say 10 hours at 1s., . . . . .		0	10 0
Coke, materials, etc., say . . . . .		0	3 5
	£3	9	<u>7½</u>
Profit, . . . . .		8	10 0
	£11	19	<u>7½</u>

Of the work itself there were few complaints: and an article in *The Times*<sup>1</sup> admits that it was, for some purposes, superior to ordinary coppersmiths' work, though expensive. The writer's technical description of the work, and its difference from ordinary methods, is worth quoting:—'They [the joints] are distinguished from others by the entire absence of overlapping seams or patches, and rivets are not used at all.

<sup>1</sup> October 25, 1911.

Patching operations are carried on as follows. The hole or weak spot is opened out, by cutting and filing, into a star shape, and a piece of copper is then cut to template so that the serrations of both hole and patch fit well together. The patch thus lies flush with the surfaces of the vessel inside and out, and by judicious tapping the edges of the serrations are brought practically into contact with each other, the patch by this operation being firmly sustained in place. Spelter is then melted into the minute interstices, the complete union of the edges being comparatively easy on account of the intimate contact produced by the hammering. The job is finished off with a file, the inside of the patch in the case of fruit pans being tinned. A repair thus carried out presents a remarkably neat appearance, and close examination is necessary in order to locate the mend.

For securing the bottom of a cylindrical vessel a sheet of metal is flanged in the ordinary way, and the flanged edge is serrated and fitted to a similarly serrated edge of the cylinder, subsequent operations being as already described. The top of a cylindrical still of moderate size may be similarly attached, the resulting vessel having none of the laps, rivet heads, or projections characteristic of those manufactured in the ordinary manner.

This system seems to have decided advantages in connexion with the manufactures of fancy soaps, of jams and delicately flavoured articles, of scents and fine chemicals generally, where it is desirable to use pans which present a perfectly smooth interior. Owing to rivet heads and lapped seams the thorough cleansing of ordinary pans is a difficult matter. . . . For vessels subjected to any considerable pressure the method is obviously unfitted, and it is probably too expensive, even if suitable, for adoption in the coppersmiths' shops of engineering works.

Excellent and accurate as this account is, it is written entirely from the point of view of a practical engineer interested in strange methods of work, and the writer has omitted to refer to several matters which have importance ethnologically. Since he has borne testimony, as an expert witness, to the excellence of the Gypsies' work, it may be well to record that this excellence was the result of two things which British coppersmiths have cast from them long ago—old-fashioned ways and old-fashioned industry. The Gypsies toughened their copper by patiently and skilfully hammering the whole surface of the vessel, a long and monotonous task, and thus added greatly to its strength and



FIGURE 6



AT CHOISY LE ROI, PROBABLY IN 1911

durability. But their dexterity in brazing copper, which was so thin that it would have melted or burned in the hands of a native workman, they owe directly to the archaic bellows they still use. In contrast with the mechanical blowers now found in every civilised workshop, these ancient windbags enable the smith so to regulate the strength of the blast that the temperature of his forge is completely under control.

The bellows of our visitors are somewhat better made than the bellows from Kabylia figured by Professor van Gennep,<sup>1</sup> those photographed in Northern Nigeria by Dr. Macfie,<sup>2</sup> and those described by Paspatis, Bataillard, and Kopernicki,<sup>3</sup> as used by European Gypsies. But there is no difference in principle or in the manner of using them. They are used in pairs, each element of which consists of a triangular bag of flexible well-tanned goat-skin, measuring about two feet from the open base to the apex, where a tapering copper tube about eighteen inches long is attached. The open end can be closed by pressing together two strips of wood, which are fastened to the lips of the leather bag and themselves bear small loops of leather for the insertion of the thumb on one side and the fingers on the other.<sup>4</sup>

The burning coke of the forge-fire is contained in a roughly circular hole in the ground, about nine inches in diameter, in the side wall of which, plastered with clay, is firmly fixed a small but heavy iron nozzle, about eight inches long, the twyer or tue-iron of British smiths. In shape it resembles a 'button-mushroom,' with a very thick but hollow stalk; and it is perforated by a conical hole, widest at the end of the stalk and constricted to a small orifice in the centre of the rounded head, which projects into the fire. The stalk end of the nozzle having been cleared of earth, the points of the copper tubes of two bellows are thrust quite loosely into its mouth, and the blower, generally a boy or youth, seats himself cross-legged behind them, facing the fire. Opening one bag by separating his fingers and thumb, he raises the strips of wood attached at the mouth to a vertical position in front of himself, and thus fills the bag with air. He then closes the mouth by clenching his hand on the wood and forces the sticks downwards into a horizontal position upon the bag itself, thereby pressing out

<sup>1</sup> *J. G. L. S.*, v. 195.

<sup>2</sup> *Revue d'Ethnographie*, 1912, p. 281.

<sup>3</sup> *J. G. L. S.*, v. 195-6, footnote.

<sup>4</sup> See plate, *J. G. L. S.*, v., opposite p. 195 and Fig. 6.

the air through the nozzle into the heart of the fire. While pressing and emptying one bag he simultaneously raises and fills the other, so that the blast is continuous.

The Gypsies were often ambitious enough to attempt the repair of vessels so heavy that it was difficult to move them without blocks and tackle, which they did not possess. They undertook, for instance, to tin the inside of a copper cauldron that weighed four hundredweight—and did tin it. But in such cases they used modern blow-lamps, and in Leeds and Manchester the ancient leather bellows hung idly on the wall replaced by a machine bolted to the floor and turned by a handle.<sup>1</sup> Evidently, therefore, they were not prejudiced against modern implements on account of their modernity, but rejected them, as a rule, because they were inconsistent with nomad life. And indeed their shears, pincers, files, mallets and hammers, as well as such materials as hard solder, tin, borax, and killed spirit, were bought in shops and did not differ from those universally used by ordinary craftsmen.

They sometimes bought rivets too when they needed them, but occasionally they manufactured them themselves by an interesting process:—Taking a piece of sheet copper measuring about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  by 1 inch they rolled it into a spiral cone, inserted the pointed end into a hole in an iron bar, and flattened the projecting part with a hammer to make the head.

Their equipment of tools was remarkably small. Excepting the instruments already mentioned they had only the *dópo*, which corresponded with the blacksmith's anvil (*kovántsa*), never seen in their camp. The *dópo* is a bar of iron about two and a half inches square and four or five feet long, pointed at one end for insertion in the earth, and having a small flattened top at the other on which the pot was balanced. In general appearance it is very like a gigantic cast-iron nail.<sup>2</sup> Their apparatus was ill adapted for the manufacture or repair of large vessels, but the courage with which they faced apparently impossible tasks was admirable. Nikóla and his tribe even made a new saucer-like bottom for a pan six feet in diameter, cupping a sheet of copper by the primitive method of digging a hole of approximately the required shape in the ground and beating the sheet into it with mallets.

It is scarcely necessary to add that, being illiterate, they used

<sup>1</sup> In the camp at Beddington they had a similar machine, but they did not always use it.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Fig. 6.

neither measurements nor sketches, but took dimensions by means of knots in pieces of string.

Contrary to the custom of most Gypsies, the women took practically no part in bread-winning: indeed the men were shocked at our suggestion, when they complained at first of lack of work, that they should make small copper things and let their wives hawk them. The women of course professed to tell fortunes: and at first they seemed to be eager to learn the English for the ordinary fortune-telling utterances, but they were too lazy to persevere. Zága at times, with the help of an interpreter, told a fortune to some reporter or other *gažo* who seemed anxious for it; but her attempts were of precisely the ordinary kind and very feeble at that.

There was, however, an unusual and elaborate method practised on several occasions. This has been described by A. Machen in the *Academy* for December 9, 1911, from which I quote:—‘Cold water is brought in an ordinary glass, the glass is covered with a towel, and you are invited to press down the towel with your fingers and make sure that the water is really cold. This done, various conjurations follow. Some of the water from the glass is sprinkled abroad; hot ashes from the wood fire are scattered in the air, and (the towel tightly held over the mouth) the vessel is whirled round and round. Then the old woman asked my name, and having gathered the sounds as best she could, she chanted them and wailed them over fire and water; and suddenly leaning forward she held the glass against my ear, and the water bubbled vehemently: this I was told was a sure sign that I should be very fortunate. The noise was not the hissing of effervescence such as might be caused by dropping in some powder, but the true bubbling sound.’ The same method was employed for the benefit of Mr. Ackerley,<sup>1</sup> except that fire did not enter into the charm and he had to drop a coin in the water and blow on it before the glass was wrapped up. He was told he would hear a little devil in the glass, which is reminiscent of the Russian Gypsy fortune-telling mentioned by Dobrowolski.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Ackerley and Augustus John were given charms. That given to the former looked like a piece of wax or a light-coloured stone; but unfortunately he lost it before he could have it examined: in the latter case what looked like a fragment of wood or bark with a little salt was knotted in a

<sup>1</sup> And for a special correspondent of the *Evening News* (November 24, 1911).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 122 and vi. 97-8.

corner of his handkerchief. Mr. Ackerley was subjected to the same ordeal as MacLeod,<sup>1</sup> of having his hand pressed against the stomach of the two women who tried to tell his fortune. There is little doubt that they do practise fortune-telling in countries where they can speak the language; and probably it is mixed up with some kind of *hokkano baro*. One old lady at any rate among the later arrivals was much interested on hearing that their brethren in England kept up the art, and inquired whether they made as much as £100 a time by it. When I denied that, she descended to £50 and thence to £10: for less she did not seem to think it was worth doing, and was full of contempt when told they did it for a shilling or so.

Beyond fortune-telling their only contribution was begging; and there one must draw a distinction. The first arrivals, Nikóla's immediate relatives, professed wealth and scorned to beg; but their successors begged furiously and corrupted some of the former arrivals. Miloš and Džórdži's party, however, never descended to it. Among the men, begging in general was rare and confined to special occasions; among the women, with a few exceptions, it was lamentably common.

Like most foreign peasants, they carried water-pots and such things on their heads. For the rest the women devoted their time to cooking, marketing, and sewing. Their sewing was interminable, owing to the flimsy character of the material of their own clothes, the children's clothes, the men's shirts, and the *seránd* covers. There were periodical washing days; but the stuff would stand little rubbing, and so new garments were always being made. If they had any spare time, they loafed about the streets in companies, marketing or staring in shop-windows; and some part of their time was devoted to laundry work and keeping the children clean. For personal cleanliness was a characteristic of the whole band. Copious ablutions were performed in the morning and often after work was finished too; and the women made inquiries for the public baths in Birkenhead and visited them. Of insects, the camp was entirely free, except that the courtly Andréas once or twice caught something, presumably lice, in his hair. But that was an exception, a speciality of his own: I did not notice any other grown up persons doing the same, and the children were certainly free from anything of the kind.

The women, like the men, all smoked, with the exception of

<sup>1</sup> *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 83.



Andréas's wife and daughters. But unlike English Gypsy women they only smoked cigarettes. So too did the younger men, and they all showed a preference for Russian cigarettes. It was only the patriarchs who indulged in long and expensive meerschaum pipes (*luljáva*), though many of the younger people had elaborate cigarette holders (*muštika*, *muštóka*). The children, too, all smoked almost from their cradle.

### CEREMONIES

Of beliefs and superstitions I have little evidence. Old Nikóla professed to believe firmly in *o baro Djel*, but his son Jánko frankly confessed infidelity. They appeared to recognize only two religions, as they asked me whether I was *Musulmano* *vej Katoliko*. By the latter the Tsórons seemed to mean Roman Catholic, not Greek Church as one would rather have expected from people who had lived mainly in Eastern Europe; though in London some of the others professed to belong to the Orthodox church.<sup>1</sup> Probably they had very little, if any, idea of the difference; or perhaps, like most Ruthenians, they really belonged to the Uniate Church, which accepts Roman dogma though it retains the Eastern rite. According to Mr. Bartlett, Miloš's family posed as Roman Catholics, but crossed themselves instinctively in the manner of the Orthodox church, though occasionally on repetition they varied it. Wóršo's child was baptized in a Roman Catholic church and they had no fault to find, except that a woman sitting by me kept asking why the child's hair was not cut as it was in Spain. Adam Kírpátš and his wife had sufficient faith in the shrine at Czenstochoa, which they said was a Roman Catholic shrine, to take an expensive journey thither to cure their sick child. But perhaps it was not so much faith as a last resource in this case.

That child's case was somewhat mysterious. When they arrived he seemed normal, except that he was far more ill-natured than any of the other children and was subject to occasional fainting fits. Doctors had been tried abroad, and were tried in Liverpool in vain. Medical opinion was unanimous that rest was the only cure, and that the child might recover later in life. But the parents were not satisfied. Presumably magic rites were resorted to. For example, once when a fowl was being slaughtered

<sup>1</sup> *Daily News*, August 28, 1911.

for the boy's consumption, the mother was noticed to draw a circle in the ground round herself and the fowl, wring its neck, cut the head off, scrape a cross in the soil, stick the knife in the ground at the intersection and leave it there until the fowl was plucked and thrown into the pot. Again, on one of the front posts of this family's tent three small branches of a thorn bush<sup>1</sup> were tied with a red ribbon, probably to keep evil spirits away. Mr. Shaw, when visiting the camp at Liverpool, had to write for them to a witch-doctor at Bradford. How in the world did these people, who could not speak any English at the time, hear of a witch-doctor at Bradford? They were told to describe the child's symptoms and enclose a lock of his hair, which must not have been touched as it was put into the envelope. But apparently the witch-doctor, too, was unsuccessful, for a few weeks later Adam and his wife and the child took return tickets to Czenstochoa at a cost of over thirty pounds. They sent glowing accounts from Berlin, where they stopped with Miloš and Mátej on the way back, declaring that the child was perfectly cured. But when they reappeared in Liverpool the fainting fits occurred as before, and, in addition, the boy appeared to be and was treated as an idiot. Myself, though I had spent over a week in their company before, he did not recognize; and his elders taught him the Romani words for things, as though they found him at a loss for his own language. There was a vacant and glazed look, too, in his eyes which at times made one suspect him of being, at any rate, partially blind, and which certainly had not been there before his pilgrimage.

In ghosts they were firm believers. One night when all were sitting peacefully in the drill-hall at Birkenhead, Vóla, who had gone into the courtyard to fetch some water, rushed screaming and half fainting into the shed, declaring that a man in white shirt-sleeves had tried to catch hold of her. In a moment there was a tremendous uproar, the women crowding round Vóla, the men rushing into the courtyard, all gesticulating and shouting wildly. As no man was forthcoming, and the caretaker declared that the gate was locked and that no one had come in or gone out, the most generally accepted theory was that there was a ghost there; and afterwards the women would only go out in twos and threes after dusk, if absolutely necessary. Later our Honorary

<sup>1</sup> The belief in the power of hawthorn as a preventive against the influence of evil spirits is ancient and widespread. See Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, pp. 73-4.

Secretary beguiled the time in telling some children a tale of a ghost in the room at the back of the hall where I slept; and ever after I was repeatedly asked if the ghost had visited me, and, if they heard any noise when they thought I was in bed, the Gypsies would shout inquiries to me. Some of the children wore amulets, that of the sick boy being something stitched in a piece of furry skin; and they must have regarded small children as specially subject to evil influences, as, like many English Gypsies, they refused to allow a baby to be photographed.

In the matter of ceremonial defilement they were not so particular as many English Gypsies; for example, they did not reject food which had touched a woman's dress. They must have observed the ordinary taboo of women for some time after childbirth, as they would not let Mr. Bartlett shake hands with Fránkoj's wife a week after she had given birth to a child at Leeds. So far as we could ascertain there were not any ceremonies performed at the birth of Wóršo's child, though we cannot be certain, as we were not there at the time. It is noticeable that the chief Nikóla, his two sons and his son-in-law Párvalo, quitted the drill-hall the very same day and apparently about the very same time as the birth took place, and returned to the Green Lane camp. One thinks naturally of the belief mentioned by Wittich that a birth in a caravan defiles the caravan, and wonders if the same applied to the drill-hall.

Unfortunately the secretiveness of the Gypsies, from whom one could hardly ever extract an explanation of any of their acts, makes it impossible to assert definitely that this was or was not the case, especially as the birth was synchronous with several violent quarrels. It seemed itself to be the cause of a quarrel between Wóršo and his wife, as for several days previous to it he was said to be knocking her about. That, however, was presumably a private matter; but there was a more general quarrel when the camp split up. Inquiries on the point from children merely elicited the answer *tši žanaň*; their elders shrugged their shoulders and answered equivocally; and the chief, when I questioned him a few days later, asserted that he had left because the newer arrivals fed like savages (*χάνα džungales*), adding something about the women which I could not catch.<sup>1</sup> Probably its origin lay in the all-important matter of work. A few days earlier one of Wóršo Kokoiésko's relatives turned up with an

<sup>1</sup> It sounded like *šu* (?) *pe le žuliu*.

enormous quantity of pots and pans to mend. He had obtained them from the Liverpool Town Hall, but circulated a report that they were from a large hotel. Thereupon there was a feverish rush to all the large hotels in Liverpool, with little or no result. Then presumably the deception was discovered; and I returned one morning to find the delinquent, with his back against a pillar and a hammer in his hand, surrounded by his supporters, and the chief and his supporters facing him, all clamouring, until the chief's enormous voice prevailed. The women came flocking out and tried to join in the quarrel, but Nikóla seized his stately wife unceremoniously by the shoulders, and, aided by others, pushed her and the rest back into the hall. The quarrel raged for some time, getting very near to blows on the part of the chief and his opponent. Long and earnest *diwans* took place nightly for the next few nights, but the split remained permanent. This no doubt was the main reason for the move of Nikóla and his followers from the hall; but whether some failure in proper observances at the birth was the last straw that determined their departure, I cannot say.

About marriage ceremonies, too, I know very little. They are apparently conducted among themselves, as in a joking proposal made to our Honorary Secretary, he was told the men would perform the ceremony. In most cases they take place quite early. Jáňko, who was only eighteen, was already a father; and Wóršo Morkósko, aged sixteen, intended to marry soon. Sophie's eldest son must have been at least nine or ten, though she was only twenty-seven at the time of her death; and just before Andréas left for Monte Video, he went to Budapest and fetched a *bori*, apparently for his son Vasíli, though the latter was only twelve or thirteen.

Money enters very much into the marriage question, as into everything else, among these people. The young man, as soon as he starts earning, begins to collect gold coins for his future bride to wear; and unless the bride's father is a very wealthy man, the bridegroom's father has to pay a considerable sum of money for his son's bride. Džórdži Deméter had paid 2500 marks for a daughter of Lólo Kósmín as a bride for one of his sons, and was bitterly repenting his bargain, as she slept thirteen hours a day and refused to cook (*tši kamél te kjiriavél*) or to sew. Probably the payment of this dowry was the main part of the ceremony, as it was in the case of the Gypsy wedding in Poland described by Kajetan Dunbar

in the *Wide World Magazine* for March 1910. The prices paid in that Polish camp were far higher than those mentioned by our Gypsies, and reached as high as 10,000 roubles (£1000).

Of their funeral ceremonies more is known owing to the death of Sophie or Žaža, wife of Adam Kírpatsš and daughter of Nikóla, during their stay at Beddington Corner. For the details about her burial I quote from the information collected at very great trouble from all the parties concerned, and kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. F. Shaw :—

‘Sophie lay ill at Mitcham for some weeks owing to want of proper attention after giving premature birth to a child, for which the Gypsies had not called in either doctor or midwife. On October 10, 1911, her condition became so serious that a specialist was summoned and she was removed to Carshalton Cottage Hospital, where an operation was performed on her. But it was too late; and on the 12th she died. On the next day a party of the Gypsies called on the undertaker and ordered an oak coffin, with brass fittings and a fringe round it. They gave him the exact measurements for the coffin, which they required to be made unusually large, at least six inches too long, and big enough to contain a person of 18½ stone, though Sophie was not at all a big woman.

‘On going to the mortuary he found that the body had already been prepared for burial by some of the Gypsy women; and the nurse told him it had been washed with salt and water. The body was dressed in the ordinary clothes of the women, including no less than five petticoats, and all the clothes were perfectly new. The arms were crossed upon the breast; and the undertaker was warned that he was not to remove or even touch the headdress.

‘The clothes worn by Sophie during life were neither burned nor buried (as stated in some newspapers), but were given by the Gypsies to neighbouring cottagers.

‘The next morning the Gypsies were very angry to find that the body was in the coffin, and that it had been screwed down. They insisted upon having the lid removed, and when this was done they put a new pair of boots on the body, and clasped round the neck a necklace consisting of twelve large gold coins, two of them being English £5 pieces. A massive silver belt was buckled round the waist, and a towel, a piece of soap, and a small mallet were placed in the coffin.

‘During the time that the body was unburied the Gypsies were terrified of darkness. The hooting of an owl filled them

with fear, and even the chief would not leave his tent after nightfall unless accompanied by one of the men.

‘During the time the body was in the mortuary there were frequent sprinklings with water accompanied by “lamentations,” the men standing by with lighted candles in their hands, or saucers in which they burned cone-shaped objects about one inch in diameter at the base and two and a half inches high. They refused to allow the undertaker to screw down the lid again, and wanted him to take the coffin along the road to the churchyard as it was, simply covered by the pall.<sup>1</sup> This of course could not be done. So in the end the lid was loosely laid on the coffin over the pall, which was of lace lined with yellow satin and having a deep fringe of blue. This the Gypsies themselves provided. There was no other attempt at decoration—no flowers or anything of the kind.

‘At ten o’clock the body was borne from the mortuary to the hearse by Nikóla and Lólo Kósmín on one side, and Adam Kírpatš and Mórkoš the dwarf on the other. The two first-named are very tall men, and they had to rest the coffin on their arms in order that Adam and the dwarf might use their shoulders. Even then the body was in great danger of being tipped out. The chief mourners discarded the silver buttons on their coats and waistcoats. Nikóla wanted the driver to walk at his horses’ heads instead of sitting on the box, but this was not consented to. Although there were four mourning coaches in the cortège, nobody rode in them.

‘As the procession proceeded from Carshalton it was joined by various groups of women from the camp, who behaved in a most extraordinary fashion, tearing their hair, beating their breasts, wailing and throwing themselves upon the ground. In some cases the men of the tribe had to restrain them, and hold their arms so that they should not do injury to themselves.<sup>2</sup> Both men and women were dressed in their gaudiest clothes; Nikóla wearing a heavy gold chain, but the large egg-shaped silver buttons usually worn on his coat had been removed. The

<sup>1</sup> In Rumania the corpse is carried on a bier exposed to the public gaze (J. W. Ozanne, *Three Years in Roumania*, London, 1878, p. 162). Cf. also T. Stratilescu, *From Carpathians to Pindus* (London, 1906), p. 293: ‘The dead person is carried uncovered to church, that he may behold this fair world for the last time, and take from it a last farewell.’ Mr. Ackerley tells me this is the case in Russia too.

<sup>2</sup> This, too, is a *gafo* custom in Rumania (Ozanne, p. 163) and in many Eastern countries.

only children attending the funeral were three belonging to Adam Kírpatš, and babies in arms who were not old enough to be left unattended in the camp. Nikóla walked immediately behind the hearse followed by the crowd of Gypsies, talking excitedly—many of them smoking. All the men were bare-headed.

'The Roman Catholic burial service was used, and was conducted by Father Pooley of Mitcham, who said the Gypsies seemed to understand the ceremony perfectly. At Mitcham Old Church the coffin was taken to the little mortuary chapel and placed upon low trestles. Nikóla next removed the lid and the tribe gathered round, the women wailing and shedding tears. Again the body was sprinkled with water. At this stage of the proceedings gold, silver, and copper coins were put in the coffin, apparently according to some rule, for in some instances, when the Gypsies had not the necessary copper, they asked spectators to change silver pieces, sometimes taking less than their face value in order to get the particular coins required.

'After a flask of water had been placed in the coffin the lid was once more screwed down, and the service proceeded with, but it was soon stopped in order that some of the men might go to purchase a supply of candles. Then the chief requested that the lid of the coffin might be unscrewed in order that the mourners might take a last look at the body. This Father Pooley permitted, but when the lid had again been put on and the Gypsies wanted it taken off once more, he refused, and at length the service in the chapel was concluded. The coffin was carried to the grave by four of the Gypsies, followed by all the men of the tribe bearing lighted candles in their hands. The women did not join in the procession, but sat on the ground in groups, wailing, lamenting, and smoking. Before the coffin was placed in the grave the chief asked the undertaker for a mallet and chisel, intimating that he wanted a hole cut in the coffin. Accordingly some holes were bored with an auger, and an aperture about eight inches square was made in the left-hand side of the coffin, near the foot.<sup>1</sup> When the coffin had been

<sup>1</sup> According to J. Slavici, *Die Rumänen in Ungarn, Siebenbürgen und der Bukovina* (Wien, 1881), p. 172, in Bukovina two holes are often bored in a coffin, one on each side near the head of the corpse, so that the dead person may be better able to hear the wailing. Cf. also T. Stratilescu, p. 293: 'In places where it is not allowed to bury the dead uncovered, two little windows are cut on both sides of the coffin, about the head, for the dead to breathe, they say, and see his friends,

lowered into the grave the chief produced a bottle of rum, and after ceremoniously pouring some on the coffin, drank some himself and passed the bottle round to his companions. When the service at the graveside terminated, the women all returned to the camp, but many of the men remained watching the grave until it had been filled with solid brickwork instead of earth and a heavy stone slab placed upon it.<sup>1</sup> During this vigil the chief remained seated on the ground, while the other Gypsies stood about smoking and talking cheerfully. After a time some of them went away and returned with bread and ham, with which they refreshed themselves.

'Later in the day, after all the Gypsies had returned to the camp, a ceremony called *trisa* was observed. This consists of placing some ashes in a large copper vessel round which the Gypsies gather with wailings and incantations. This observance was repeated on November 21st (forty days after the death). On Tuesday, three days after the funeral, the grave was visited by some of the men, who poured beer over it from a bottle, which they finally broke upon a neighbouring tombstone. They went again on the day that the camp was vacated. Nine days after the funeral a feast was held, and, according to an interpreter who lived with the Gypsies, would again be held at intervals of three, six, and twelve months after the date of the burial.'<sup>2</sup>

With this excellent account should be compared the ceremonies described by Mr. Augustus John as taking place at Marseilles after the death of a member of a similar band in Belgium. On the arrival of a messenger from Russia at Birkenhead on August 7, 1911, announcing the death of a brother of one of the Gypsies there, we heard the sister singing a lament

and hear those who lament after him, and take leave of them.' Stratienco also mentions that among Rumanians the friends give the measurement for the coffin, but are careful not to make it too large, as that would mean another death in the family (p. 292); and that before the lowering of the coffin-lid, the priest throws wine across the dead (p. 294). It would seem as though the Gypsies had copied these customs, either misunderstanding or wilfully altering them.

<sup>1</sup> A small iron cross, about two feet high, with foliated ends, a wide transverse piece bearing a heart on which 'Sophie Tschuron' is cast, and a circle with 'J.M.J.' at the top and 'R.I.P.' at the bottom, was afterwards placed on the slab.

<sup>2</sup> The names of these feasts were given by Vasili as *pomina enja djesenge*, *pomina sove kurkange*, *pomina dopasce borseski*, and *pomina borseski*. The same feasts, under the same name *pomina*, are attributed to the Rumanians by J. Slavici, *Die Rumänen*, p. 172, except that the first is on the fourteenth not the ninth day: they continue till the end of the seventh year.



in the drill-hall. But unfortunately it ceased as we entered, and we did not observe any other ceremonies. This lament was probably extemporaneous;<sup>1</sup> but among their songs was one describing the death and burial of a certain Tjérka and the forlorn condition of her husband and children.

The extravagant expression of grief noticed at the funeral is not confined to such occasions; for under the influence of any passion their usually sedate behaviour at once gave way to wildness. When her son fell down in one of his fits, Sophie would walk up and down with distorted face, clutching her hair and wailing a dirge, and even the queenly Tínka would give way to tears and lamentations. And in moments of anger they were equally uncontrollable. Once, when Mr. Atkinson and I were sitting in the house at Southfields drinking tea with the amiable Tódor and his wife, a man burst into the room with a naked infant under each arm, plumped them down on the floor, shouted *marén pe*, and disappeared as he had come. Tódor sprang to his feet, called to us to follow, and insisted on our doing so. So we blundered down pitch-dark stairs and passages into the garden. There, between the two tents of Miloš and Džórdži, in a torrent of rain was a youth with nothing on but his trousers and a shirt torn into shreds, raving and struggling like a madman with three or four others who were trying to hold him. Past him Tódor led the way, guided by the noise, to Džórdži's tent, which on account of the rain had been closed with 'balks' so that there was only an opening about a yard square to creep in at. Inside was the entire party, about forty or fifty people, in a circle, round the blazing brazier in the centre of the tent, all, save one youth who stood sullenly silent, clamouring at the top of their voices and gesticulating wildly. The dispute got so heated that even the two patriarchs, Džórdži and Miloš, had to be forcibly restrained from taking their coats off and going for each other; and every few minutes it was rendered livelier, as the violent youth outside contrived to drag himself and the people who were clinging to him through the small opening of the tent, nearly bringing the whole structure on our heads. Repeated ejections, the rain, and still more his own ravings, tired him in time; but the clamour lasted for half an hour or more, and we left it still going on, though

<sup>1</sup> In London some of Lólo Kósmin's band sang a song, which must have been more or less extemporaneous, as it mentioned London and their inability to get work there. But they may have merely inserted topical references in an old ditty.

rather more peaceably, when we managed to slip away unseen. For strangely they refused to let us go until the dispute was over, though the noise was such that we could not possibly make ourselves heard as peace-makers. In this case, fortunately, the knife with which the noisy youth attacked the silent one was wrested from him before any damage was done; but letters from Trieste reported that a quarrel among a band there ended fatally; and certainly the quarrelsome youth on this occasion would not have stopped short of murder, if he had not been prevented. But their anger passed quickly. On the next day the two were quite friendly again.

Of education it is hardly necessary to speak in the case of Gypsies. Most of them had received none in the ordinary sense of the term, and they were excellent examples of its futility. A wide experience of the world and native common sense and acuteness had made them wise enough; and I doubt if any of the persons who traded with them complained of their ignorance. They were expert in money reckonings; though it must be admitted that the chief in translating £250,000 into francs got the sum wrong; but that is hardly to be wondered at, when he was dealing with money of which he had little experience. What was more surprising was their inability to learn English. They declared that French, Italian, and Spanish presented no difficulty to them: and the chief had picked up very fair German in eight months' residence there: many of the children, too, were fluent linguists, and could speak, more or less, as many languages as they had years; but English they were very slow in acquiring; indeed, many of them departed after eight or nine months stay little wiser than when they came. One reason perhaps was that, in most of the large towns, they found such a liberal supply of Jewish interpreters that they had little necessity to wrestle with the language, and natural laziness prevailed. Miloš's family progressed better than the others, and most of them can speak a little now; and in Nottingham they had to, for lack of interpreters. His grandchildren, too, have been attending school, when not playing truant, in all the towns they have visited; but the others seemed expert in evading it. Vasilí and Milánko, however, had somehow learned their letters sufficiently to write their names; and among their elders Vánia Kósmin and one of Wóršo Kokoiésko's relatives possessed the same accomplishment.

Though they despised almost all other Gypsies and had little

to do with them, they had picked up in their wanderings some little knowledge of Romani dialects. They could understand Dobrowolski's Russian Romani and Gilliat-Smith's *Lálere Sínte* specimens when read to them; and Milánko knew the song *Sósa Gríša*.<sup>1</sup> Andréas, who was a purist and highly interested in Romani, once indulged in a dissertation with illustrations of differences between their own Romani, Russian Romani, and the Romani of the Sínte, by whom he probably meant German Gypsies. The Russians, for instance, would use *dikdem* and not *diklem*, while the Sínte said *barikeraŭ* and *na* in place of *naïs* and *tši*. But linguistics are outside the limits of this article, and Mr. Ackerley has undertaken to treat of what was collected by most of us who visited them. So here I leave him to take up the tale.

### III.—THE DIALECT OF THE NOMAD GYPSY COPPERSMITHS

WITH TEXTS AND VOCABULARY

By FREDERICK GEORGE ACKERLEY

#### FIRST PART—TEXTS

THE specimens of the nomad Gypsy Coppersmith dialect with which we have to deal were collected in England by sundry members of the Gypsy Lore Society. The circumstances were probably unique, in that the Gypsies and ourselves used Romani as the ordinary medium of conversation. Usually recorder and reciter had no language in common save Romani itself. Thus explanations of doubtful phrases were exceptionally difficult to obtain. French was useful in some cases, but German hardly at all. Only one of us knew any Russian, and that not of the fluent conversational order. Most of us were unskilled in the recording of strange sounds, and consequently there is a good deal of variation in spelling. In editing these texts I have tried to make the spelling fairly uniform, having due regard to the frequent interchange of sounds in the actual speech of the Gypsies. On the whole, it has not been difficult to eliminate the personal peculiari-

<sup>1</sup> *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 125.

ties and mistakes of the recorders. In the matter of aspirated consonants, one of our workers confesses that he fails to hear the aspirate, and in handing me a text suggested that I should supply them where they ought to be found. This I have not always done, as it would have involved a degree of editing which would have rendered the texts untrustworthy. I have retained an aspirated *r* in some instances, in accordance with the record lying before me, though I suspect that the orthography owes something to a remembrance of Dr. Sampson's Welsh Gypsy Tales, in which *rh* is used to represent a Welsh sound.<sup>1</sup>

English-speaking people are notoriously bad recorders of foreign vowel-sounds, because our own so-called long vowels are always combined with a glide. Thus our long *o* is really *o* plus glide-*w*, and our long *i* is *i* plus glide-*j*. This peculiarity of our speech provides many pitfalls. We have a difficulty in appreciating a genuine pure long vowel. Furthermore, our *r* is generally vocalic and not consonantal. In this Romani dialect the elision of a following *s* causes compensatory lengthening of a vowel, but the resulting pure long vowel is apt to suggest, to an English ear, the presence of our glide-*r*. Thus *ansurimasko* becomes *ansurimā'ko*, and is recorded *ansurimarko*. One of my correspondents notes that 'they continually confused *s* and *r*, as in *lesko*, *lerko*, and many other cases.' Now it is obvious that in the example cited the Gypsy said *lēs'ko*, with a lengthened *ē*, though one might compare *tār* for *tāsa* (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 135). When once the cause of this confusion is recognized, it is easy to discover the cases where *r* should be deleted or *ē* inserted. But one cannot so easily decide as to the real quality of the vowel in such a word as *to-*, 'to clean.' In one case, where two records were made at the same time, there appear the variants *to-les*, and *tor-les*. Perhaps this should be *toŭ-les*, *tōū-les*, or even *toσ-les*, but it is impossible to decide from the manuscript which is right.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Winstedt writes that he is quite certain that there was a strong aspirate in *rhing*, fairly sure that it occurred also in *rhil*, but that he is not absolutely certain that it was audible in *rhod*.

<sup>2</sup> I take this opportunity of acknowledging the very ready help that has been given me by Mr. E. O. Winstedt, the Rev. D. M. M. Bartlett, Mr. B. J. Gilliat-Smith, and the Hon. Secretary of the Gypsy Lore Society. It has been a privilege to work with them. Mr. Bartlett is to be congratulated on having, in the midst of strenuous parochial labours, obtained the best literary specimen of the dialect, the fine first fragment of the *Norako* epic. His manuscript shows plainly what care and patience he must have brought to the task. Mr. Sidney W. Perkins has rendered valuable help in tracing etymologies, and has laid us under an obligation by lending me his copy of Sztojka's book. It is also due to our Gypsy friends that

## I. EXTEMPORE CONVERSATIONS

The text of these conversations is not in a very satisfactory state, the first two being early records taken down before the writers were accustomed to the peculiarities of the dialect. The translations are inevitably studded with lacunæ. The general sense, however, is tolerably clear, and they are valuable as specimens of the conversational style.

(a) *Dictated by Jánko, the chief's son, and Fréštík Savolóska,*  
4 June 1911

*Sámas ándo Portugál, them lášo. O Kóla<sup>1</sup> lja ánde Ližbóa<sup>2</sup> dež mi.<sup>3</sup> O dad la Koláško la biž mi, pai bútsi. Akaná 'vilja (v.l. 'vilom) ánde Anglia. O Kóla da dui mi; o káko Wóršo da trin mi. Avilo man<sup>4</sup> ánde Marsélia óxto žéne: alo me e kompanía Nikóla. Wóršo Kokoiésko, šorénsa po mui, da štar gálbi, Múi Šúko,<sup>5</sup> ándo Liverpool de ánde Marsélu. Haj avó te kero mandžin ánde Anglia. Ka . . . [Fight at this point!]*

*Akána žas ánde Russía, S. Peterburg, te tšinás kherá, ta te tšinás gras: ka si lóve tšinél, ka naj lóve kosél le grastén. O Kóla le Miχaiésko žal ándo Peterbúrgo te tšinél star khéra: ánde jekh te bšél, ánde jekh te χal, ándo kava te kalél,<sup>6</sup> ándo kava te žil ándo.*

We were in Portugal, a fine country. Kola got ten thousand francs in Lisbon. Kola's father got twenty thousand by his work. Now we have come to England. Kola gave two thousand; uncle Woršo gave three thousand. There came to Marseilles eight of a party: there came Nikola's company. Woršo Kokoiésko, with a beard (pl.) on his face, gave four pounds, Thin Face, in Liverpool and in Marseilles. And I come to make a fortune in England. He who . . .

Now we are going to Russia, S. Petersburg, to buy houses, and to buy horses: he who has money will buy, he who has no money will groom the horses. Kola

their share should not be forgotten. We have been met by them with more patience and kindly good-fellowship than we had any right to expect. *Pe sustimaste, phra-lale! Te keren but mandžin ánde Amerika!*

<sup>1</sup> Eldest son of the chief of the same name. Here the chief is *Káko Wóršo* and *O dad la Koláško*.

<sup>2</sup> Portuguese *Lisboa* 'Lisbon.'

<sup>3</sup> 'Ten thousand francs.' Ten milreis (two guineas) is too inconsiderable a sum for a Gypsy to mention.

<sup>4</sup> *Avilo man . . . alo me.* These are probably ethical datives following participles.

<sup>5</sup> 'Thin Face,' a nickname applied to our Hon. Secretary, otherwise known as *Andréas*.

<sup>6</sup> There is some doubt about these verbs. *Kalél*, v.l. *χalél*, might be compared with *chataw* 'wash' (Mik., v. 25). *Žil* looks like a loan-verb with stem suffix *-i*.

son of Michael goes to Petersburg to buy four houses : in one to sit, in one to eat, in another to dance (?), in another to live in (?).

(b) *From Wóršo, son of Mórkoš Tšóron*

*Avile o Rom anda Russia, haj piren le Romensa le Franzososkensa ando thema, haj keren butši le Romensa le Franzososkensa, haj len love. Tši den anda<sup>1</sup> dež mi; den le po dui po trin šela.<sup>2</sup> Le Rom le Russiake bari xoli lengi. Gəndina pe so te keren. Teporin<sup>3</sup> le ko kher le joro'ko. Ko rat, ko djes, kerena baro butši, lesko rusa,<sup>4</sup> von trajena ande Russia. Maj but love kerenas ande kodu Russia, haj akuna and' el thema Ungarinkorosa.<sup>5</sup> Haj ma naj kantš.*

The Gypsies came from Russia, and they travel with the French Gypsies in the countries, and do work with the French Gypsies, and get money. They do not pay out ten thousand francs; they pay them by two or three hundreds. The Russian Gypsies are very angry with them. They consider what to do. They take (?) them to the Town Hall. By day, by night, they do great work, . . . they prosper in Russia. They used to make more money in that Russia, and now in the regions of Hungary. I have no more (to say).

(c) *From Jánko, son of Nikóla Tšóron, 23 August 1911*

*Ame samas ando Portugal haj kerdom but mandžin, kerdam jefta-rar-deš taj pandž mi franki, o dud ho<sup>6</sup> šaš, o Kola ho Wóršo. Arilam ando Marseilles t'ašunas katar o Miloš haj katar o Mátej kaj le won.<sup>7</sup> Ašundjam lendar kə dine pe stradža ande Italia. O Wóršo gəndisajlo wo t' arel ande Anglia te kerel patša.<sup>8</sup> Aril ande Anglia kerdjas patša. Avilo-tar palpale ando Marsel. Mutodja vo ke ta i Anglia naj but laši, šaj trajil pe ande Anglia.<sup>9</sup> Arilem amende andi Anglia e kompania Wóršoske. Bešljam ando Liverpool trin šon. La Pudamo<sup>10</sup> pesko romniusa haj gelo ande Berlin kotar araklja le Milošes taj Matéjes ando Njantso. O*

<sup>1</sup> *Den anda*, ? 'pay out.' Or should one read *tšiden anda* 'they put out,' i.e. 'they expend'?

<sup>2</sup> 'They give two or three hundred at a time.'

<sup>3</sup> Rum. *tăbări*.

<sup>4</sup> A new sentence may begin here, 'The Russians, they live in Russia,' which seems a foolishly obvious remark.

<sup>5</sup> *Ungarinkorosa* and *Franzosokensa* above are curious formations, the latter being derived from the Gypsy genitive of Rum. *Frantuz* 'Frenchman,' with perhaps a side-glance at the Rum. adjective *frantuzesc*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ho* = *haj o*.

<sup>7</sup> 'Where they had come.' *Le* is possibly short for *avile*, participle plural.

<sup>8</sup> *Patša*. The word means police permit to reside.

<sup>9</sup> 'That if England is not very good, one can exist in England.'

<sup>10</sup> Nickname of Adam Kirpatš.

*Njantso but lašo te kerel butši. Dinje lovaria gazeturi<sup>1</sup> te xoχaven le Rom andi butši. Avilo o Frankoj hoj Janko ho<sup>2</sup> Džurjesko te diken sar si Anglia. Von kana avile o Woršo na(s) khere. Ando London sas. Bešlo o Frankoj trin ratja amende haj gelo-tar anda London pala Woršo te keren patša. O Frankoj leske familiasa—waj k' avela andi Anglia waj ka nitš? Haj ame Luini ža-tar anda London te kerav butši te pirela me po milione frankoj partja.<sup>3</sup>*

We were in Portugal and made much wealth, we made seventy-five thousand francs, the father and the son, Kola and Woršo. We came to Marseilles in order to hear from Miloš and from Matej where they have come. We heard from them that they were deported to Italy. Woršo thought he would come to England to get permission. He came to England and got permission. Back he came to Marseilles. He related that England is not very good, (still) one can live in England. We, Woršo's company, came to England. We camped in Liverpool three months. Pudamo with his wife took and went to Berlin, there he found Miloš and Matej in Germany. Germany is very good for doing work. The newspapers reported (?) that the Gypsies cheat in their work. Frankoj came, and Janko the son of Džuri, to see how England is. When they came Woršo was not at home. He was in London. Frankoj stopped three nights at our place, and went off to London after Woršo to get permission. Frankoj with his family—will he come to England, or will he not? And we are going off on Monday to London that I may do work. . . .

(d) *From Jóno, brother-in-law of Nikóla*

*Ame ando Belfast, ame kerdam kakavi. O Fárdi sa ando Ungriko, haj šaljas trin mi fránkuri, ta lja bori<sup>4</sup> katar Patika.*

*O Savólo manga<sup>5</sup> lila kana ame žas ande Amerika. Ame dile tši som: ame but godjaver som, 'me tši trada le'ka lila. Ame les xoχadjom. Ljam la bória haj aviljam kada. Haj kana palva<sup>6</sup> galbi. Ame naj love, phrala. Me sim baro<sup>7</sup> nas valo, phrala; man dukhal per, phrala; man da dosto, phrala.<sup>8</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> 'They gave monies to the newspapers,' or 'the newspapers gave monies,' can hardly be the sense. There were some protests against the inclusion of this sentence, the reason being, as the recorder understood, that the newspapers had accused the Gypsies of dishonesty.

<sup>2</sup> One would expect *le* instead of *ho*.

<sup>3</sup> *Partja* is probably a variant of *patša*, but cf. Rum. *parte*, share, portion.

<sup>4</sup> Evidently a much gilded damsel who was with Fárdi's party at the time this was dictated.

<sup>5</sup> Read *mangšl*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *phrala, da* = "brother, give."

<sup>7</sup> Note this example of *baro* used as an adverb. The identical expression is found in Song iii. f. and Paspatis, p. 412, has the exactly similar "*paró masraló*, (Nom.) grave (ment) malade."

<sup>8</sup> A delightful example of Gypsy begging. Once started, this sort of thing threatened to go on all day with patient persistence.

We were in Belfast, we made kettles. Fardi was in Hungary, and expended three thousand francs, and got a bride from Patika.

Savolo begs tickets when we are going to America. We are not fools : we are very 'cute, we do not hand him tickets. We deceived him. We took the bride and came here. And now, brother, give pounds. We have no money, brother. I am mighty ill, brother ; my stomach aches, brother ; give me plenty, brother.

## II. TALES

### (a) *The Fool and his two Brothers*<sup>1</sup>

(From Párvalo, *alias* Jánko Tšóron)

*Sas trin phral. Dui sa godiarer, thaj jek dilo. Thaj mulo lengo dad. Thaj phendia lengo dad, "Za per tale."*<sup>2</sup> *Kano vo merela, te arel sako phral kothe leste. Haj phendia o phral o baro, "Za tu, phrala dilija, k' amaro dad."* *Lia o phral o dilo jek kas (borta),*<sup>3</sup> *haj thodela po dumo, haj gelo ka pesko dad. Haj nštilo lesko dad, haj dia les jek bal kalo. Kano vo tšinol les, anktel ando kodo bal jek gras kalo.*

*Haj phendia o ōmperatō, kon khodela ka leski rakli ando kher, anktōsto, kodoleske dela. Thaj phendia o phral o baro, "Hajle ! phrala, te dikas kon khutela kai rakli." Thaj phendias o dilo, "Meg me, phrale, te dikañ je me kothe." Haj marde lō lesko phral : tši mekte les. Thaj line le dui phral le grasten, haj gele-tar. Haj lias o phral o dilo o bal, haj kerdilo leski jek gras ando bal, haj gelo-tar. Arestia peske do phralen, aresto palal : haj pušle les "Kon tu san, manuša ?" Vo si manus depelmešti.*<sup>4</sup> *Haj mardel le' zorales peske phralen ; haj gelo-tar kai rakli. Haj huklo ando kher kai rakli. Haj lias la raklia peske : haj tšumida les lesko sokro, te diles.*

*Haj tradela leskro sokro peske dui žamutren (godiarer žamutro) te mudaren tširiklia. Haj arilo-tar o dilo ka pesko sokro ōmperato, thaj phendia o dilo te del les puška te maularel je vo tširiklia. Haj la*<sup>5</sup> *o dilo phaglias e puška, haj gelo-tar peske duje šogorensa. Vo sas o trito. Haj pirde leske šogore so*<sup>6</sup> *chodias, haj tši mardale kantši tširiklia. Haj o dilo mudardias*

<sup>1</sup> This tale was dictated slowly, syllable by syllable.

<sup>2</sup> *Za per tale.* Glossed 'Go to bed.' Probably for *žav te perav tele.* Compare *dia tele* 'to go to bed,' *J. G. L. S.*, v. 35, s.v. *tele*.

<sup>3</sup> *Borta* was given as a variant.

<sup>4</sup> Glossed *ritjaz*.

<sup>5</sup> *La.* Perhaps one should compare the often meaningless use of *li=ri*, also, in Constantinescu's tales. So again five lines from the end of this paragraph.

<sup>6</sup> In the translation I take *so* to be a mistake for *kaj* ; but the sentence is not clear. It might be "walked after what he (the emperor) sought."



le kaštesa but tširiklia, bi-puškako. Haj avile leske šogore, haj dikle le tširiklian: haj den pe duma "O dilo mudardias but tširiklia, haj ame tši mudardiam kantš." Haj mangel le tširiklian katar o dilo, te del le lenge. Haj phendia o dilo "Kana la te šinav tumaro prašaŭ (per) le šuriasa, atuntši dav tume le tširiklia, haj phenaŭ k' o 'mperatō ke tume mudardian le tširiklia." Haj kana šindia o prašaŭ lengo, haj del lenge i tširiklia, haj gele-tar khere.

Haj diklias ōmperatō le but tširikle, haj lovodil pesko do žamutren. Haj pušel le diles "Tu tši murdan kantš?" Haj phenel o dilo le ōmperatōski "Me kudala tširiklia me murdardem le. Tu man tši patšjas? Me šindem le šuriasa lengo prašaŭ, tha dem lenge le tširiklia." Haj vadas ōmperatō lengo gud, haj diklia lengo prašaŭ. E tširikli si but laši. Haj phendias ōmperatō ke leske žamutre, "Dile manuš! soste von mekle te šindias lengro prašaŭ?"<sup>1</sup>

*Thaj ma naj kantš.*

There were three brothers. Two were wise, and one a fool. And their father died. Now their father said, 'I am going to take to my bed.' When he dies, each brother is to come there to him. And the big brother said, 'Do you go, foolish brother, to our father.' The foolish brother took a stick and put it on his shoulder, and went to his father. And his father got up, and gave him a black hair. Whenever he cuts it, there will come out of this hair a black horse.

Now the emperor said, whoever climbs up to his daughter in the house, on horseback, he will give her to that one. And the big brother said, 'Come along, brother, to see who will climb up to the girl.' And the fool said, 'Let me, brothers, see (whether) I too (can get) there.' And his brothers beat him; they did not let him. And the two brothers took the horses, and off they went. But the foolish brother took the hair, and there was made for him a horse from the hair, and off he went. He caught up his two brothers, he caught them up from behind: and they asked him, 'Who are you, man?' He is a hero. And he beats them severely, his brothers; and off he went to the girl. And he climbed up into the house to the girl. And he took the girl for himself: and his father-in-law kissed him, the fool.

And his father-in-law sent off his two sons-in-law (the wise sons-in-law) to kill birds. And the fool came to his father-in-law the emperor, and the fool said that he should give him a gun that he too may kill birds. And the fool took and broke the gun, and he went off with his two brothers-in-law. He was the third. And his brothers-in-law walked (about) whom he sought, and they did not kill any birds at all. But the fool killed with the stick many birds, without a gun. And his brothers-in-law came and saw the birds: and they said to themselves, 'The fool has killed many birds, and we have killed none.' And they beg the birds from the fool, that he should give them to them. And the fool said,

<sup>1</sup> This tale is a very feeble version of a story of the Cinderella type obtained from a Tšoron at Cracow, and published in *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 84 ff. This and the following translations are made exceedingly bald and literal on purpose. Their object is merely to elucidate the grammatical meaning of the texts.

"When I take and cut your bellies with the knife, then will I give you the birds, and I will tell the emperor that you have killed the birds." And when he had cut their bellies, he gives them the birds, and they went off home.

And the emperor saw the many birds, and praises his two sons-in-law. And he asks the fool, 'Have you killed none?' And the fool tells the emperor, 'It was I who killed those birds. You do not believe me? I cut their bellies with the knife, and gave them the birds.' And the emperor pulled up their shirts, and looked at their bellies. The birds are very good. And the emperor said to his sons-in-law, 'Silly fellows! why did they let him cut their bellies?'  
I have no more.

### (b) *A Providential Meal*

(From Wóršo, son of Mórkoš Tšóron)

*Si jek phuro Rom haj ek phuro rhing.<sup>1</sup> Von si tšore. So, gšudina pe, Devla, te xan arat? Phuro rhing kaj phenela le phuro reske, "Ža-ta! an amenge te xas." "Katár me džanav<sup>2</sup> tumenge te xan, ke naj love man?" Phuro rhing gela, malavela haj rovela. Delarena dui žene ando weš te tjiden barburitsa. Haj o Rom tš arakhena barburitsa. Son,<sup>3</sup> Devla, kam-kerena? E! Kavel lenge gažo ando drom, haj pušena les "Si tu manro? te da mange kotor manro te xas. Kame-meras<sup>4</sup> bokhatar. Tu tši den mange manro, kame-meras." Mang baro.<sup>5</sup> "Naj ma manro te davi tumen." Delarena pengo drom khere. Phuro rhing so kam-kerela, Devla? Roimasa žala. Phendi "Me merava bare rat baro bokhatar." Arakhena ando drom paš-manro haj kolumpilje haj mas. Von aradujina pe k' arakhle kodo manro haj kodo mas. Žana khere; arasena khere; dela i kekavi ando vas, haj thola pai ande kekavi: haj thol o mas<sup>6</sup> andre te tjiron. Haj thona pe skafidi te xan. Kada tjiron. Xana palai skafidi ži kana tši xljena pe.<sup>7</sup>*

There is an old man and an old woman. They are poor. What, think they, O God, are they to eat to-night? The old woman says to the old gentleman,

<sup>1</sup> *Rhing*. Why this should be masculine all through this tale I cannot say. It is feminine in Italian Romani.

<sup>2</sup> *Džan anar*.

<sup>3</sup> *Son* for *so*.

<sup>4</sup> *Kame* may be merely *Kame* accented on the first syllable as in ii. d.: *soste ame, phala*, . . . Mr. Winstedt, however, prefers to take *kame* as a variant of *kam-* the future prefix.

<sup>5</sup> This seems to be an aside, reminding one of Borrow's tale '*Mang, Prala*,' in the *Laro-Lil*.

<sup>6</sup> *O mas* is plural, meaning 'the provisions.'

<sup>7</sup> This vulgar expression I have paraphrased by one slightly less vulgar but equally expressive of repletion. Literally, 'until they evacuate themselves.' *Tši* in this phrase is redundant. Compare, for instance, *ži-puni-tši* in Text iv. c. (though there it may represent not the Romani negative but Rumanian *aci*), and *ži-kina-tši* in v. b. sentence 18.

'Go and bring us something to eat.' 'Whence shall I go and bring you something to eat, for I have no money?' The old woman goes and begins to weep. The two together set off into the forest to gather barberries. But the Gypsies do not find any barberries. What, O God, shall they do? Lo! there comes to them a gorgio on the road, and they ask him, 'Have you bread? give us a bit of bread to eat. For we shall die of hunger. If you do not give me bread then we shall die.' Beg hard. 'I have no bread to give you.' They set off on their way home. The old woman, what shall she do, O God? She goes with weeping. She said, 'I shall die the long night with great hunger.' They find in the road half a loaf and potatoes and meat. They set off because they have found that bread and that meat. They go home; they arrive home; she takes the kettle in her hand, and puts water in the kettle: and she puts the meat in to stew. And they place for themselves a table to eat. These things are cooked. They eat at the table until they are fit to burst.

(c) *The Lost Child*

(Lólo Kósmin's son-in-law)

*Šukar paramitš. Sa phuri žuvli, sas la<sup>1</sup> phuro rom, haj na la šave. A sa<sup>2</sup> la jek šavo ternóro. "Dévla! Dévla! nais tuke, Dévla! te déla me jek šavoró."*

*Te džal ando veš, džal arakhel baro kopátš. Haj xásajlo ando veš. Rodel les e phuri, o phuro rodel les ando veš. Haj xaláli<sup>3</sup> o ruv.*

*Rovéla phuri taj phuro anda šavo. "Dévla! Dévla! Dévla! Dévla!" Muli i phurori. Ašilo phuro.*

*"So te kerav me ženo."<sup>4</sup> Žalo ka thayári mangel váreso butši. Haj tóles kale gras, ande štala, kale gras. Haj dela o gras dab. Haj mulo. Haj pabárde ando sulumá. Ha liné o ušára, haj šudé pe barwól.*

A sweet tale. There was an old woman, she had an old husband, and she had no children. And she had one young boy. 'O God, O God, thanks to Thee, O God! for giving me a little son.'

He (has) to go into the wood, he goes, he finds a big tree. And he is lost in the wood. The old woman seeks him, the old man seeks him in the wood. And the wolf ate him.

The old woman weeps, and the old man (weeps) for the boy. 'O God! O God! O God! O God!' The old woman died. The old man remained.

'I know what to do.' He goes to the king, he asks for any sort of work. And he was cleaning a black horse, in the stable, a black horse. And the horse kicks him. And he died. And they burnt (him) in the straw. And they took the ashes, and cast them to the wind.

<sup>1</sup> *Sas la*, v.l. *sa lala*: *saxalala*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *so*.

<sup>3</sup> *Xaláli*. Glossed in pantomime 'howling,' but this probably was an attempt to explain *o ruv*. Read *xalja(s) le(s)*. If the gloss is right compare Rumanian *hălălăe* 'noise,' French *hurler*, Latin *ululare*.

<sup>4</sup> *Me ženo*, v.l. *me na džanañ*, 'I do not know.'

(d) *O Sastruno Kher* (The Iron House)<sup>1</sup>

*Sas kaj sas*<sup>2</sup> *ek phuro haj phurori*. *Haj na le šavoró oxto-var-des berš*. *Haj pormo arekádile*<sup>3</sup> *lengs duí raklorz pel phurimata*. *Haj o phuro lja le, haj phandada le ando sastruno kher*. *Haj ron bešlé, le duí phral, bis berš*. *Haj pormo ron kothé barilé*. *Haj ron bis berš manušes tši diklé*. *Pormo o maj baro phral phendja le tsignesko phraljō'kō*<sup>4</sup> :—*Soste áme, phrala, bōsās*<sup>5</sup> *káti andi kádo kher?* *Ar-ta amenge, phrala, k' amaró phuro dad*. *Haj amé te phenás amarō'ka phure dadjō'kō*<sup>6</sup> :—*“Ame trobul te žas amengs anda kado sastruno kher avri.”* *K' ame, phrala, sam ričjaza*. *Ame trobul te džas amengs pe lumia, te dikas sar si pe lumia le mánus*. *K' ame zumavus amari zor*. *K' ašundjam ande ek gar šerekano deš-u-do šerensa; ame trobul te zumavas amari zor te mudara*<sup>7</sup> *les*. *Ka kodo šerekano buti manušen mudardja, haj sako berš trobul te del les po'k*<sup>8</sup> *šero manuškano, haj ame trobul te mudaras kodoles šerekanos te trajil e tem haj lumia, haj ame duí žene trajšaras po tem haj pe lumia*.

Once upon a time there was an old man and a little old woman. For eighty years they had no child. And then two boys were granted them in their old age. And the old man took them, and shut them up in the iron house. And they stayed, the two brothers, for twenty years. And so they grew big there. And for twenty years they never saw a man. Then the bigger brother said to the little brother: Why, brother, do we stop here in this house? Come along, brother, to our old father. And let us say to our old father:—‘We must go out of this iron house.’ For, brother, we are heroes (giants). We must go into the world, and see what people are like in the world. For we will prove our strength. For we have heard in a village (there is) a monster with twelve heads; we must prove our strength by killing him. For this many-headed monster has killed many men, and each year must be given him a human head for each one (of his heads), and we must kill this many-headed creature so that the country and the world may exist, and we may dwell together in the land and upon the earth.

<sup>1</sup> The first half of this tale was obtained from Vánia Kósmín. Later it was revised and continued by one of Mišail Tšoron's band.

<sup>2</sup> *Sas kaj sas*, ‘there was where there was,’ ‘there was and there was,’ or ‘there was who was.’ There is a variant in the MSS. *sas pe*, with which cf. Mik. *Beiträge*, iv. 3: *has pēske, na has pēske jik raj*.

<sup>3</sup> *Arek idile*. A good instance of the grammatical excellence of the Coppersmiths' dialect. It is the third person plural of the past tense of the passive of the causative of the verb *arakh*—‘to find.’ It is difficult to express in English the full sense of the Romani idiom.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. *phraljeka* and *phraljake*.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. *bysas* and *beršas*.

<sup>6</sup> MSS. *amarōka phuro dadjeska*, and *amarake phure dadjake*.

<sup>7</sup> Recorded *mularar*, for *mudara*(s). The vowel is lengthened in compensation for the loss of *s*.

<sup>8</sup> *Po jek*, distributive, ‘for each of his heads.’

## III. SONGS

(a) *Gaže, Gaže*

Of this song two versions were obtained from members of Nikóla Tšóron's party. That obtained by myself has the middle stanza which is lacking in the other record, and also shows an important variant in the third stanza. I print the three stanzas together, adding separately my variant of the third. The singer complains that the men have been let out while the women are still shut up, and begs for freedom. Evidently we have here a Gypsy Women's Suffrage manifesto.

<i>Gaže, Gaže, mōri Gaže,</i>	Lady, lady, my lady,
<i>Mōri sjemo<sup>1</sup> luludžoro,</i>	My dear little flower,
<i>Tsorde ópre tje paputšia</i>	Pull on your shoes
<i>Kaj si pe lende šel kom-</i>	Which have on them a hun-
<i>buria.</i>	dred knots.
<i>Te puterdaš<sup>2</sup> trin komburia</i>	Let me untie three knots
<i>T' anklin are<sup>3</sup> le roburia,<sup>4</sup></i>	That the thieves may escape,
<i>Te den andre<sup>5</sup> ande birturia,</i>	That they may enter into taverns,
<i>Thaj ma xan, te maj pien,</i>	And eat more, and drink more,
<i>Pestji voja te koren.</i>	And do their pleasure.
<i>Dengi dela, mōri Gaže,</i>	He gives money, my lady,
<i>Te šaj pia me dopaš rajtji.</i>	That I may drink half the night.
<i>Pilem aba dopaš rajtji,</i>	I have already drunk half the
<i>enke šaj te pja me sor o</i>	night,
<i>rajtji.</i>	Yet I can drink the whole
<i>Phuria! adé man<sup>6</sup> le gən-</i>	night.
<i>duria,</i>	Old woman! give me your
<i>Fedvoraka<sup>7</sup> but si duri,<sup>8</sup></i>	thoughts,
<i>La romniake but genduria.</i>	Fedvora has many longings,
	The wife has many thoughts.

<sup>1</sup> *Sjemo*. Glossed 'I like very much.'

<sup>2</sup> *Puterdaš*. One expects *puteraš*.

<sup>3</sup> *Anklin are*, v.l. *te den avri*.

<sup>4</sup> *Roburia*, v.l. *roburi*, *rohula*. Glossed 'robbers.' One expects 'slaves.'

Cf. Rum. *rob*.

<sup>5</sup> *Den andre* 'they enter.' But see *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 230. There is a variant *te del ando virto*.

<sup>6</sup> A conjectural reading. The MS. has *ardéman*. *Adé* may be compared with *alé* 'take,' in the Vocabulary.

<sup>7</sup> Mr. Winstedt guesses this to be a proper name.

<sup>8</sup> *Duri*. I take this for Rumanian plural of *dor*. Cf. Mik., v. 18, *dóru*.

*Lažareški kada bułji,*  
*Le rom traden, haj 'men nitši.*

*Oj! Gaže, mōri Gaže,*  
*Mōro sjemo luludžoro,*  
*Te tradus sor o rajłji*  
*Te maj pias o dopaš rajłji.*

Shameful is this work,  
 They let the men depart, and us  
 not.

Oh! lady, my lady,  
 My dear little flower,  
 Let us depart all the night  
 To drink more half the night.

Variant of the last stanza.

*Bare lažareste<sup>1</sup> bułji,*  
*Le rom traden, thaj 'mi nitš.*

*De mangžandre, mōnge, Gaže,<sup>2</sup>*  
*Te šaj tradal sor o rajłji*

*Te del andre*  
*Andro bustaja.<sup>3</sup>*

Very shameful is the work,  
 They let the men depart, and us  
 not.

Come in to me, to me, lady,  
 That he may let (us) depart  
 all the night

To enter  
 Into the gardens.

(b) *Dear Girl*

(*Kodo-kaj phenłja paramitši o Milanko ta Vasili*)

*Kāra<sup>4</sup> ma, Dērla, širikli*  
*Te xurúr pe kangeri,*  
*Te la manga luludži,*  
*Te taš la mangu po maškár,*  
*Dráge šij.*

*T' ašel mangu maj šukár,*

*Dráge šij.*

*Kóko róso ándo tšáro,*  
*Platšajmo<sup>6</sup> ko tšáro,*  
*Dráge šij.*

Make me, O God, a bird  
 To fly to the church,  
 To get me a flower  
 To wear it at my waist,<sup>5</sup>  
 Dear girl.

That it may remain more sweet  
 to me,

Dear girl.  
 This rose in the pot,  
 I will give pleasure to the lad,  
 Dear girl.

<sup>1</sup> *Lažareste*. An instance of the common change from *k* to *t*.

<sup>2</sup> This line seems corrupt.

<sup>3</sup> *Bustaja*. Plural of *bustan*; cf. *dušmaja* from *dušman*.

<sup>4</sup> For this form of the Imperative see Mik., xi. 43. This line occurs several times in Constantinescu, e.g. Song xvii.

<sup>5</sup> Lit. 'To put it for me at the waist.'

<sup>6</sup> *Platšajmo* for *platšau ma*, compare *amboldame* in Text v. c.

(c) *Drinking*

(From Milánko)

<i>Jamen</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>sam e vajda</i>	We are the chieftains
<i>Tsigno haj but žanglo.</i>	Little and well known.
<i>Mang vajda, lš Romengi,</i>	Beg chief, for the Gypsies,
<i>Mol te pien.</i>	Wine for them to drink.
<i>Te 'me lasa moloti</i>	Let us take wine
<i>Trin djes haj trin ratja.</i>	Three days and three nights.
<i>Pe mol e loli</i>	In the red wine
<i>Kadeti mi piava,</i>	I will drink a barrel,
<i>Gad ti džarava</i> <sup>2</sup>	I will stretch (my) shirt
<i>Le bare bulengo</i>	Full-bodied
<i>Paruni diklengo.</i>	(Made) of silken kerchiefs.
<i>Jandi kušma me žava,</i>	Into the inn I will go,
<i>Wolba molajtji mangava.</i>	I will demand a pint of wine.
<i>I man</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>si man sivo graj,</i>	I too, I have a grey horse,
<i>Wo na šal, na pjel,</i>	He neither eats nor drinks,
<i>Le kanentsa drom d' ašunel.</i> <sup>4</sup>	That he may hearken to the road with his ears.
<i>Kadjiti me tradala</i>	A cask shall carry me
<i>Jando biatši d' arasava</i>	That I may attain to drunken- ness
<i>Dui djes haj trin ratja.</i> <sup>5</sup>	(For) two days and three nights.

<sup>1</sup> *Jamen*. I cannot explain the -n except as accidental nasalization.<sup>2</sup> In a variant this is *gad džindžarava*. Compare Anglo-Romani *dindž*, *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 221. The whole variant is interesting:—

*Ja mensam en vajda,*  
*Tsigno haj but žangló,*  
*Kajditši me piava,*  
*Gad džindžarava,*  
*Ja mensam ek Frankoj*  
*Le Matejesko.*

The first line was glossed 'I am half one chief.' For *en* read *ek*, and translate 'We (two) are one chieftain.' One would, however, expect *ame* not *amen*, which appears in both versions

<sup>3</sup> See Mik., ix. 23.

<sup>4</sup> It has been suggested that this may be part of a riddle, to which Professor Petsch agrees. The cask is the grey horse which neither eats nor drinks. *Kanentsa* may be a pan on Rumanian *cană* 'a pot.' The singer means that he will sit astride of a cask with the cork out of the bung-hole, and so will ride to 'the great unknown and unseen world of *Titto paáni*, from whence no *choórodo* returns,' to quote the egregious George Smith of Coalville.

<sup>5</sup> There is some resemblance to lines of this song in the song printed in *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 119. I take this opportunity of suggesting a textual amendment in the first stanza. Read: *Či kostalil maj but volba (šolba) ek šelénži*, 'it will not cost more than a shilling a pint.'

(d) *Ale Rino*<sup>1</sup>(From *Milánko* and *Vasíli*)

<i>Ale Rino,—šej! šej! šej!</i>	<i>Ale Rino,—Girl! Girl! Girl!</i>
<i>Tiro mui do-parnó—šej!</i>	<i>Thy too white mouth</i>
<i>Haj tjo máškar do-sanó—šej!</i>	<i>And thy too slender waist</i>
<i>Haj ti jag kalé, kalé—šej!</i>	<i>And thy black, black eyes</i>
<i>Šinde man pa'l prašaré.<sup>2</sup>—šej!</i>	<i>Have cut me to the heart.</i>
<i>Aj! si ma manga šovori:<sup>3</sup>—šej!</i>	<i>Oh! I have maidens;</i>
<i>Aj! si ma manga lolodži;—šej!</i>	<i>Oh! I have flowers;</i>
<i>Aj! akána borori.—šej!</i>	<i>Oh! now have I a bride.</i>
<i>Si ma tsoxa haj loli:—šej!</i>	<i>I have a coat and it is red:</i>
<i>Kána-godi mángla mándi távla</i>	<i>Whenever . . . . .</i>
<i>Sángla mándi prastajél.—šej!<sup>4</sup></i>	<i>. . . . .</i>

(e) *Aj! Lumaj, Lumaj!*

<i>Aj! Lumaj,<sup>5</sup> lumaj, lumaj!—</i>	<i>Oh! World, world, world!</i>
<i>Luludžia!</i>	<i>Flowers!</i>
<i>Hampa<sup>6</sup> man, daje,<sup>7</sup> pe'l zoria.</i>	<i>Mother, I arose at dawn.</i>
<i>Aj! Po kovájtši gad melaló;</i>	<i>Oh! on the smith is a dirty shirt;</i>
<i>I po svirájtši gad parnó.</i>	<i>And on the musician is a white shirt.</i>
<i>Angardém la ando khas,</i>	<i>I brought her into the hay,</i>
<i>Haj tjindém láke kila<sup>8</sup> mas.</i>	<i>And bought for her a pound of meat.</i>
<i>Sari koda kaj avel?</i>	<i>Who is this that comes?</i>
<i>Sano maškar pagavel.</i>	<i>She bends a flexible waist.</i>

<sup>1</sup> This song was said to be a new one, just brought from Hungary; and *Ale Rino* was described as *Matjesko Bumbulestango bori*.

<sup>2</sup> See *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 48, where the editorial comment is wrong.

<sup>3</sup> *Šovori*. Glossed 'girls,' but possibly *šovari* 'Groschen,' of Mik. *Beiträge*, iv. 11.

<sup>4</sup> A variant of the last two lines runs:—

*Kána-godi me toľ la*  
*Sángla mándi sa voj prastela.*

This suggests the translation 'whenever I put it on she always runs before me (to meet me).' *Mángla, távla*, and *sángla* were glossed *rokje* 'skirt,' but possibly by a misunderstanding. Subsequently some Gypsies of Miloš Tšoron's party denied the existence of any such words, except *sángla* 'apron.' The reader must make the best he can of a bad job. 'Wasili xoχalji tut!' quoth one lady with a laugh.

<sup>5</sup> *Lumaj*. Always thus in singing; for *lume*.

<sup>6</sup> *Hampa*. Glossed 'got up.' Mr. Gilliat-Smith writes: 'in Sophia they said the word was *han-pe*, "to eat," a reflexive of sorts. In Varna *chal pe mange, daje, kolatši*, (is) the usual corresponding line.'

<sup>7</sup> Variant *daje*, here and in the ninth line.

<sup>8</sup> *Kila* 'kilogramme'?



<i>Angardem la, daje, po tramraj,</i>	Mother, I took her on the tram-
	way,
<i>Tšindem lukš sumnakaj.</i>	I bought her gold.
<i>Savi koda kaj aven?<sup>1</sup></i>	Who are these that come?
<i>Sando<sup>2</sup> maškar pagaden.</i>	They bend a slim waist.
<i>Oj! tšaj, rosi tšaj,</i>	Oh! maid, rosy (?) maid,
<i>Rosi, bini! bini!</i>	Rosy, bravo! bravo!

(f) *Tsutso*

(From Vasili, with variant version by Fárdi)

<i>Le man Tsútso ke sëm tšaj;</i>	Take me Tsutso who am a lad;
<i>Šóve bogonén tradáñ.</i>	Six 'crocks' I drive.
<i>Te maj tradés dúwar šo</i>	Though you drive twice six
<i>Páša mánde na pašó.</i>	Do not come near me.
<i>Tš' ánde Péšta tš' araslím,<sup>3</sup></i>	I did not reach Pesth,
<i>Báro nasválo pelím,</i>	I fell very ill,
<i>Pe punrénde paslerém.<sup>4</sup></i>	I sat down on my heels.

## IV. BALLADS

(a) *The Conscript*

(Recited by Vánia Kósmin, and subsequently revised by two members of Míloš Tšóron's band)

<i>Uští-ba dadé le<sup>5</sup></i>	Get up, father,
<i>Ráno ranínko tihára</i>	Early, very early in the morning
<i>Taj džá-ba ka raj o baro<sup>6</sup></i>	And go to the policeman
<i>Ta le-ba, tu, ta le-ba</i>	And get, you, and get
<i>O lil o párho</i>	The white paper

<sup>1</sup> The last four lines form a refrain which is sung to a different melody and in quicker time. Mr. Gilliat-Smith has often heard this song in Bulgaria: it seems to be a great favourite. Compare a version given by Gjorgjević, *Die Zigeuner in Serbien*, p. 119.<sup>2</sup> *Sando*. A variant of *sano*.<sup>3</sup> Glossed 'nous n'avons pas arrivé à la Pesth,' but surely the verb is in the singular.<sup>4</sup> Fárdi's variant has the verbs in the second and third lines in the third person, and *tšaj* has the extraordinary form *šöl*. There are at the end two additional lines:—

*Ánde Tsutsa de šukar*  
*Te šej e terni.*

<sup>5</sup> *Dadé le*. The revisers pronounced this *naj lašo*. The same form was, however, passed in the third line from the end. Here they preferred *dado*.<sup>6</sup> v.l. *Taj džá-ba, džá-ba dadí ka raj o baro*. The revisers preferred *Taj džá ka raj k' o baro*.

<i>Te na len man xáludo.</i> <sup>1</sup>	So that they do not take me for a soldier.
<i>Tši mangélu miro tšavo love,</i>	My boy, he does not demand money,
<i>O raj na kamel lóre,</i>	The policeman does not want money,
<i>Ta kamél mire<sup>2</sup> kalé grastes.</i>	He wants my black horse.
<i>Me tši dava mire kale grastes.</i>	I will not give my black horse.
<i>Xíba<sup>3</sup> tšinen tíre krétse bálu,</i>	Doubtless they will cut your curly hair,
<i>Me kale grasten na dar.</i>	I will not give black horses.
<i>Služínésá jey berš</i>	You will serve a year
<i>Haj varir, haj vi džása xala-déndi</i>	And another, and also will go to the soldiers
<i>Haj javésa glavno xalárdo.</i>	And you will become a general.
<i>De man jek mardoró</i>	Give me a little rouble
<i>Te kína mánge kiltse ta gadoró,</i>	To buy me breeches and shirt,
<i>Te na pirar nangoro,</i>	That I do not walk about naked,
<i>Te n' asan maškár le gáze,</i>	That they do not laugh among the gorgios,
<i>He! dade le, sar xaladende ud-žár?<sup>4</sup></i>	Ah! father, how shall I go to the soldiers?
<i>Ha tširé šora po jek</i>	The (hairs of) your beard
<i>Na po jek utsərđáva.</i>	One by one will I pull out.

(b) *Padjamno and Padjamni*<sup>5</sup>

(From Fárdi)

<i>Padjamno, Dévla, so kšr'la?</i>	What, O God, does Padjamno do?
<i>Norvindjako kaj kšrela,<sup>6</sup></i>	. . . . .
<i>Xurdi butji kaj kšrela.</i>	He does little work.

Or 'So that the soldiers do not take me.' Singular for plural.

*Mire.* The MSS. have *mires*.<sup>3</sup> *Xíba.* Glossed by the revisers 'sans doute.' The word is probably Hung. *hiába* 'in vain' (see the Vocabulary).<sup>4</sup> The revisers read *sar me khere džarava.* Of *udžar* they said: *Naj mišto. Bangor bar.* It is of course *džar* with a non-Romani preposition prefixed. Cf. Mik., xii. 24.<sup>5</sup> Fardi said this *si but phuri.* I have printed the proper names according to a uniform spelling. In the MS. the following variants appear: *Padjano, Patjamno, Padjanija, Padjamurja, Padjamni, Padjani, Patjomni.*<sup>6</sup> Perhaps 'he commits whoredom,' or 'makes himself (the husband) of a whore.' Rum. *curvă* 'whore.'

<i>Padjamni anda moste<sup>1</sup> kaj phenela</i>	Padjamni says aloud
<i>"D' ašunes tu, Padjamnéja,</i>	'Listen, Padjamno,
<i>Ds sar me tut kaj ljim</i>	Since I took you
<i>Xolba moljati tši piljam,</i>	We have not drunk a pint of wine,
<i>(Te meren tje šuvi!)<sup>2</sup> khantši.</i>	(May your children die!) not a drop.
<i>Ka birtu mansa džasa</i>	You will go with me to a tavern
<i>Xolba mol ame te pjas."</i>	That we may drink a pint of wine.'
<i>Padjamno so kšrela?</i>	What does Padjamno do?
<i>Lila pe, Devla, kaj žala</i>	He betakes himself, O God, and goes
<i>Ko birto o baro,</i>	To the big tavern,
<i>Xolba molajtji mangela.</i>	He calls for a pint of wine.
<i>E Padjamni so kšrela?</i>	And what does Padjamni do?
<i>Kai židavónja žala,</i>	She goes to the Jews,
<i>Farmitš ande mul thóla.</i>	She puts medicine (?) into the wine.
<i>"Ašunes tu Padjamnéja,</i>	'Listen, Padjamno,
<i>Te meren tje šave kana,</i>	Now may your children die,
<i>Ko mui la tši vasdésa."</i>	You will not lift it to your mouth.'
<i>Padjamno ko mui vasedela.</i>	Padjamno lifts it to his mouth.
<i>Kada Padjamno phenela:—</i>	This says Padjamno:—
<i>"Xala man kurvo xaljano,<sup>3</sup></i>	'Blear-eyed whore, it is eating me,
<i>Xan tu kurvu lje terme.</i>	The worms will eat you, whore.
<i>De man kurotséra pai."</i>	Give me clean water.'
<i>Pe meral kaj paruval.</i>	He is dying and changing (colour?).
<i>"Mek kš žasa kaj durjala<sup>4</sup></i>	'Let us go to the waters
<i>Kaj si e salka e bándji,</i>	Where the crooked willow is,
<i>Kothe tu pai pésa."</i>	There shall you drink water.'

<sup>1</sup> *Anda moste.* Cf. Mik., iv. 25, and *o mui, laut, aus vollem Halse.*

<sup>2</sup> The oath implies: 'If I speak not the truth.' Cf. Gjorgjević, p. 129. Like the English Gypsy, 'God strike me *mulo*,' which is often used as an asseveration before an unusually big *hoxaben*.

<sup>3</sup> *Xaljano.* I am not sure about this: perhaps 'you eaten whore.' Or 'thou hast eaten me,' if the *-o* can be taken as a mere prolongation.

<sup>4</sup> *Durjala.* Plural of *devrual*, or some similar form. It might be a verb from *dur*, far, 'where it is far off.'

*Kana khərɛɛ ron žána,*  
*Kai salka e bándji arəsena.*  
*Kana ro ko pai bándjola :*  
*Padjamni tseruléta léla*  
*Ando pai le žudela.*  
*Khəre Padjamni.*  
*Lak' šavé la pušena*  
 "Kaj, dale, amúro dadl?"  
 "Akanaš vo avil,  
*Ka khər prižardó ašilas."*  
*Lakš šavé kadš phendí :—*  
 "Xaljan les, kjúrvo kaj beštiju,

*Nan tut kurvo lje tjerme*  
*le pe jatsa la phuvájtje."*

*So luka šave kšrena ?*  
*Ko birəro le garjéko,*  
*Grastes u guánges kaj ljena ;*  
*Trin vurluna k' angrš tjiđéna,*  
*K' angrš jag kaj déna,*  
*La 'nde jag šudéna,*  
*Lako ušara pe barwal mekšna.*

Now they go home,  
 They reach the crooked willow.  
 Now he stoops to the water :  
 Padjamni takes a sandal  
 She pushes him into the water.  
 Padjamni (comes) home.  
 Her children ask her  
 'Where, mother, is our father?'  
 'He is coming immediately,  
 He stopped at a house you know.'  
 Her children said this :—  
 'You have eaten him, whore and  
 beast,  
 May the worms eat you, whore,  
 (The worms) upon the face of  
 the earth.'  
 What do her children do?  
 To the mayor of the town,  
 They take a horse of the towns;  
 They collect three wagons of coal,  
 They set fire to the coal,  
 They throw her into the fire,  
 Her ashes they leave to the  
 wind.

(c) *Norako and Gruja*

(Obtained from one of Miloš Tšóron's band)

There is in Rumanian folk-song a cycle of epic poems dealing with the adventures of a hero named Novac and his sons Gruja and Gruitsa. Though the following two fragments cannot be identified with any of the published parts of the Rumanian ballads, there seems no reason to doubt that they are derived from Rumanian. These two portions do not run consecutively. The first is defective at the end, and in both there are phrases which I do not altogether understand. But with all their defects I look upon them as by far the most important, as they are the longest, of our samples of the Nomad Gypsy Coppersmiths' repertory. As specimens of the dialect they must take a high rank. The reader should compare Marienescu and Herrmann, "Novak und Gruja" in *Ethnologische Mittheilungen aus Ungarn*, iv. pp. 76-8, 124-6.

<i>Okothe tele ande xar</i>	Down there in the valley
<i>O Gruja haj o Novako</i>	Gruja and Novako
<i>Othe xan haj pjen pe skafidi</i>	There they eat and drink at a table
<i>Kaj si kerdé sar ambrol.</i>	Which is shaped like a pear.
<i>O Novako xal taj pjel,</i>	Novako eats and drinks,
<i>O Novako naskžil.</i>	Novako is angry.
<i>Le'ko dad tšingar dja :—</i>	His father cried :—
<i>“Soj kerdja Gruja ?”</i>	‘What has Gruja done ?’
<i>“Si tu gžndo Tsaligrado'ko ?”<sup>1</sup></i>	‘Is it Constantinople that you are thinking of ?’
<i>Vaj si tu gžndo ansurima'ko ?”</i>	Or is it marriage that you have in mind ?’
<i>“Man na ma gžndo ansurima'ko,</i>	‘I am not thinking of marriage,
<i>Haj si ma gžndo Tsaligrado'ko.”</i>	And I am thinking of Constantinople.’
<i>Tši vorba anda mui<sup>2</sup> tši motola,</i>	Not a word does he utter,
<i>Ando Tsaligrado'ko aratšela.</i>	He arrives at Constantinople.
<i>Kaj vo, Devla, kaj pirela o Gruja ?</i>	Where, O God, does Gruja walk ?
<i>Kaj Anitsa birtositsa.</i>	To Annie the tavern-keeper.
<i>Kaj but mol piela.</i>	There he drinks much wine.
<i>Tši piel pes sar kaj piel pe,</i>	He does not drink like an ordinary drinker,
<i>Lela vadra vastarestar</i>	He takes a bucket by the handle
<i>Ta tradel la ži fundoste.</i>	And tosses it off to the bottom.
<i>Ta Anitsa krišmaritsa</i>	And Annie the tavern-keeper
<i>Vuderdjas pe,<sup>3</sup></i>	Dressed herself,
<i>Lole kerija ando punro ljas,</i>	Put on her red boots,
<i>Taj ko 'mperato našljas,</i>	And ran to the emperor,
<i>Parne gada kaj wasdjas,</i>	She lifted up her white shirts,
<i>Ko 'mperato arašljas.</i>	She reached the emperor.
<i>Amparato la dikhljas</i>	The emperor (when) he saw her
<i>Trivar terniló.</i>	Became thrice as young again.
<i>“Aj ! Anitsa krišmaritsa !</i>	‘Hallo ! Annie the tavern-keeper !
<i>Vaj ti mol gštisajli ?</i>	Is your wine done ?’

<sup>1</sup> *Tsaligrado'ko* for *Tsaligradosko*. In the next line also read *ansurimasko*. Literally, ‘is there to you a thought of Constantinople ?’

<sup>2</sup> *Anda mui* ‘aloud.’ Mik., iv. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Untranslatable as it stands. I take it for *varjucljas pe*, Mik., viii. 90.

*Vaj ti botške šutile?*<sup>1</sup>  
 "Muro mol tši gōtisajli.  
*Ek prikasa d' aviljas,*  
*Da desara d' andaj rjat.*  
*Ek manus kaj avilas,*  
*Leski fatsa sar ikona,*  
*Taj lesko stuto sar kotana,*  
*Taj leski stadji*  
*Sar e bordža le khaseski.*  
*Haj tši piel pe sar kaj piel pe,*

*Ma lela*<sup>2</sup> *e vadra vastarestar*

*Taj tradel la ži fundoste.*  
*Amparato so phenela?*  
 "Asunes tu, Anitsa krišmaritsa?

*De lə tjei pe lesko was,*  
*Haj muk potrel o pogrebo*  
*La moliasa la phuriasa,*  
*Haj muk piel sode kamel,*

*Kajditi te piel,*  
*Ži-puni-tši matšol,*  
*Me les tj' astaras*  
*Aj te phundas,*  
*Haj me les te gōtisaras,*

*Ke kado si o Gruja o zoralo.*  
*Maj xalus lesko dad*  
*Trivar o Tsaligrado."*<sup>3</sup>

*Amparato so kerela?*  
*Ek mia Xoraxa kaj vasdela.*  
*Ande tjemtsa*<sup>4</sup> *e nevi les kaj*  
*tona,*  
*Kaj deš-u-duj tšjasuria*

Are your casks run dry?  
 'My wine is not done.  
 A misfortune has come,  
 This evening in the night.  
 There was a man came,  
 His face like a picture,  
 And his figure like a soldier,  
 And his hat  
 Like the stack of hay.  
 And he drinks not like an ordi-  
 nary drinker,  
 But he takes the bucket by the  
 handle  
 And tosses it off to the bottom.'  
 The emperor, what says he?  
 'Do you hear, Annie the tavern-  
 keeper?  
 Put the key in his hand,  
 And let him open the cellar  
 With the old wine,  
 And let him drink as much as  
 he wants,  
 Let him drink a barrel,  
 Till he becomes drunk,  
 That we may capture him  
 And bind him,  
 And that we may make an end  
 of him.  
 For this is Gruja the strong.  
 His father used to eat more  
 Three times, the Constantino-  
 politan.'  
 What does the emperor do?  
 He brings up a thousand Turks.  
 They put him in the new prison,  
 At twelve o'clock

<sup>1</sup> This line is bracketed in the MS. It may have been a gloss on the preceding line.

<sup>2</sup> *Ma'ela* in the MS., possibly *haj lela*; cf. line 19 above.

<sup>3</sup> For *Tsaligradosko*.

<sup>4</sup> For *temnitsa*.

<i>Les amblavena.</i>	They will hang him.
<i>O Novako kaj ašunela</i>	Novako hears
<i>K' o Gruja amblajimasko,</i>	That Gruja is to be hanged,
<i>Trin pasuria kaj tola,</i>	Takes three strides,
<i>Ka Gruja kaj aratšela,</i>	Reaches Gruja,
<i>Haj le Grujas wo kaj lela,</i>	And he takes Gruja,
<i>Haj l' amparatos ek palma kaj dela,</i>	Gives the emperor a buffet,
<i>Trin djes leski jak asvin mekela.</i>	His eye waters for three days.
<i>Le Grujas wo kaj lela</i>	He takes Gruja
<i>Khere ningerela.</i>	He takes him home.
<i>Haj les ansurila.</i>	And he marries him off.
<i>Ande kangeri kaj žava,<sup>1</sup></i>	I go to the church,
<i>O rašaj molitra kerela,</i>	The priest prays,
<i>Lela<sup>2</sup> asva ande jakha kaj dela,</i>	He weeps,
<i>Taj momelia kaj merena ;</i>	And the candles go out ;
<i>O Gruja pivlo atšela.<sup>3</sup></i>	Gruja remains a widower.

(d) *Novako's Brother*

(From Milánko)

<i>So wo, Dévla, kam-keréla ?</i>	What, O God, will he do ?
<i>Anda Xoračáj kam-džála,</i>	To the Turks he will go,
<i>Ka pe'tši dadéštši pirámni kam-džála,</i>	To his father's mistress he will go,
<i>Kaditi o kam-péla,</i>	He will drink a barrel,
<i>Jándo po drúmo o kam-džála,</i>	Into the road he will go,
<i>La vadrása wo kam-péla.</i>	He will drink with the bucket.
<i>Léla vádra wastaréstár ;</i>	He takes the bucket by the handle ;
<i>Tši-kána tula<sup>4</sup> la fundóste.</i>	Until he drains it to the bottom.
<i>"Aj ! Tíro dad basa<sup>5</sup> kathe :</i>	' Ah ! your father was here :
<i>Wo sa bar máro kamádo."</i>	He was our great friend.'
<i>O Nováko kam-keréla ?</i>	(What) will Novako do ?

<sup>1</sup> Read *žala*, or *žanu*, unless this is a personal touch on the part of the reciter.<sup>2</sup> Omit *lela*, which seems to be a doublet of the termination of the last word.<sup>3</sup> The last three lines appear to be added from some later part of the ballad, in which the death of Gruja's wife and another visit to the church to bury her must have been described.<sup>4</sup> *Tula*. Literally 'sets it.'<sup>5</sup> *Basa*. This may be *aba sa* 'already was.' But any explanation of the word must be highly speculative. *Bar*, in the next line, might also be *aba*. I do not like to take *ba* : *bar* as equivalent to Rum. *ba* 'not.'

- So phen<sup>1</sup> lésti Noraxá? Tidéna*  
*pe,*  
*Jánde temútsa les angorén.*  
*"K' kerjátso<sup>2</sup> tši san tši pimástši*  
*tši xomástši.*  
*Láro baraj, šádo ánde túte."*  
*"An-ta mánge o píro, haj*  
*tšerníla, haj hértija :*  
*Tu k' amaro dad džangares<sup>4</sup>*  
*Kodo hértjitsa.*  
*Aj! Mar tu, ráklo, le goran*  
*Haj mi ko maškar."<sup>5</sup>*  
*Tuna pe, Dévla, haj telaréna.*  
*So witjázso kam-avéla?*  
*"Ánda la Noraxanéngo mui*  
*anklistjan,*  
*Aj! Ando kudulésko muj tši*  
*anklésa."*  
*Bári šorpal kaš-prung-witzia<sup>6</sup>*  
*peréna :*  
*Buzdogáno, tši dúkum, keréla ;*  
*Andaj jek o dúmo šudéla.*  
*"Ánda tše vítza san, bre?"<sup>7</sup>*  
*"O Gruítsa móro dad,*  
*A Nováko móro phral."*  
*"Tu mudardán tje phralés."*  
*"Me kerár les pále névo,*  
*Aj! Névo, haj pále néve!"*
- What say the Turks to him?  
 They assemble,  
 And they take him into prison.  
 'In the prison you are not in a  
 position either for drink or  
 for food.  
 I will take money,<sup>3</sup> I will throw  
 it in to you.'  
 'Bring me the pen and ink and  
 paper:  
 Do you go bring to our father  
 That little paper.  
 Ha! Beat, boy, the necks  
 And . . . waist.'  
 They betake themselves, O God,  
 and they are off.  
 What hero will come?  
 'From the mouth of the Turks  
 you have escaped,  
 Ah! From this man's mouth  
 you will not escape.'  
 His great beard falls upon . . .  
 He uses a club, not a fist;  
 From one he strikes off the  
 shoulder.  
 'From what race are you,  
 bre?'  
 'Gruítsa is my father,  
 And Novako my brother.'  
 'You have killed your brother.'  
 'I will make him new again,  
 Ah! New, and new again!'<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Phen*, probably a mistake for *phenen*.

<sup>2</sup> 'Little house.'

<sup>3</sup> The translation is a mere guess.

<sup>4</sup> *Džangares* = *dža žngares*.

<sup>5</sup> If *mi* = *ma* one could translate 'beat the (horses') necks and not at the waist.'

<sup>6</sup> 'Young tendrils of a tree'? Rumanian, *prunc* 'infant'; *viță* 'vine shoot.'

<sup>7</sup> *Bre!* A Rumanian interjection.

<sup>8</sup> The whole of this is difficult, and the translation must be taken for what it is worth. One cannot say that the action of the story is in any way clear, and the relationships in the last few lines are wrong.



## V. MISCELLANEOUS

(a) *Fragment recited by one of Jóno's daughters*

<i>Dav tu jek diklo</i>	I will give you a handkerchief
<i>Te koses o nak;</i>	To wipe your nose:
<i>Dav tu angrusti</i>	I will give you a ring
<i>Pala . . . kotšuk.</i>	After . . . button.

(b) *Sentences*

1. *O Jankola ljas pa peske butši deš-taj-dui pfunđ*, Jankola received £12 for his work.
2. *Džala te najol pe*, he is going to bathe.
3. *Tši maj palpale*, (I will) never (come back) again.
4. *Tši del bóršin*, it isn't raining.
5. *Daš les túki ánde tšo vas*, I give it you as a remembrance, for a keepsake.
6. *Me bi-masesko nasti trajaš*, I cannot exist as a vegetarian.
7. *Daralo sas o gras*, the horse was frightened.
8. *Parniaraiš mišto*, I 'tin' well.
9. *Lezni tšindam la 'me, trin žene*, we three together bought it cheap.
10. *Me džav po džézus túlaj phuv*, I will go on the underground railway.
11. *Pirome jišto kškavi, me ándv te dikhár les, sar si pírome*, a cauldron [or] kettle is cracked, I will bring [it] to see it, how it is cracked.
12. *Te trajiš but taj mistój ánde but bórš*, mayest thou live long and well for many years.
13. *Ánde fóre le báre maj mišto aménge, maj but butši keras*, in the big towns it is better for us, we do more work.
14. *Naj ma kána te dav tusa duma; avesa maj palal te dav tusa duma*, I have no time to talk with you now: you will come later that I may talk with you.
15. *Dikhlé taj gelé-tar*, they looked and departed.
16. *Pi pe sastimaste*, (reply in drinking health).
17. *Sar te phenaš túki?* How am I to put it?
18. *Me tši démas tu e kakávi ži-kána-tši polšindán ánde tsérha e love. Haj tu sánas amáro Rom, tu dem tu'i e kakávi ándi fabrika. Tu san amáro Rom, patšivalo. Le gažen tši dane le kakávia ži-kána-tši polšinen khore e love. I would*

not have given you the kettle until you paid the money in the tent. But you were our Rom, and I gave you the kettle in the factory. You are our Rom, trustworthy. To gorgios kettles are not given until they pay the money at home.

19. *Kuj totšil le šurja*, (knifegrinder) who sharpens the knives.

20. List of Funeral Feasts:—

*Pomana énja džeséngi*, feast on the ninth day after the death.

*Pomana šóve kurkángi*, six weeks' mind.

*Pomana dópaš bəršéski*, six months' mind.

*Pomana bəršéski*, year's mind.

### (c) *A Letter*

The following is a Romani passage in a letter written on August 1, 1912, by Frank Polaček, the Bohemian interpreter, from Fárdi's dictation. I give it in the spelling of the original:—

*Avilem po parachodu haj či-meklao<sup>1</sup> te hulas tele ando Monte Video. Bešem ando Buenos Aires kurko-po-paji, haj amboldem palpale, haj hulistem tele ando Monte Video, lesa o maro<sup>2</sup> Consul tele.*

*Haš dēvlesa, te ares bachtalo. Me či-amboldame<sup>3</sup> palpale ando Evropa. Mangav tuka but bah, katar o del haj vi še<sup>4</sup> praleska haj dadeska haj tiro sa familia.<sup>5</sup> Andreas Tschuron, p.p. F. Polaček, interpreter.*

We arrived in the steamer, and we were not allowed to disembark in Monte Video. We stayed in Buenos Aires a week on the water, and returned again, and disembarked in Monte Video. . . .

Remain with God! may you be fortunate. I shall not return again to Europe. I beseech good luck for you from God, and also for your brother and father and your whole family.

<sup>1</sup> *Meklao* for *meklas*. The active voice is used for Passive in the Present Tense, *mekel*, it is allowed; so here 'it was not allowed.'

<sup>2</sup> Read *amaro*. I do not grasp the meaning of this phrase.

<sup>3</sup> *Amboldu me*. Compare *gōndi me* 'I think,' given as a correction of *gōndisaraš*; and *platšajimo*, Text iii. b. The word is dissected in the Vocabulary.

<sup>4</sup> *še = tše = tje = tirc*.

<sup>5</sup> *Tiro sa familia*. The position of *sa* is interesting.

(To be continued)

## IV.—THE GYPSIES OF ARMENIA

By GEORGE FRASER BLACK

THE following notes on the Gypsies in Armenia are copied from the manuscript collections of the late Mr. A. T. Sinclair, now in my possession.

It was the custom of Mr. Sinclair to write to missionaries and others whom he thought likely to be in a position to aid him, asking them to furnish him with a brief account of the Gypsies in their neighbourhood, their numbers, the names the Gypsies gave themselves, and those which others called them, their trades, customs, a few words of their language and their numerals. The letters herewith printed are answers received in response to his inquiries. The letters exist only in Mr. Sinclair's transcript, and seem to be somewhat abridged. They are given here as they occur in his manuscript copy.

*Notes on Gypsies of Van, Armenia, by the Rev. George C. Reynolds, D.D., American Missionary. March, 1886.*

So far as I can learn there are no Gypsies in this district, except the small settlement here in this city. This consists of about fifty houses. Multiplying this by five, which is probably not far from the average number in a house, gives 250 as the number of individuals. Two traditions prevail as to their origin. First, that they emigrated from China. The common name *Chingani* is supposed to favor this view. Secondly, from India; in confirmation of which it is said many of their words resemble Sanskrit.

As a rule these people do not increase rapidly, nor live to a great age. The other nationalities do not intermarry with them.

*Personal appearance.* Average height about five and a half feet. Usually of spare form. Complexions dark, perhaps inclined to yellow. Eyes narrow, and a little inclined upwards and outwards, black and shining. Hair black, straight, and abundant. Beard the same and stiff. Forehead low. Head narrow, and long in occipito-mental diameters; often shaved except a tuft at the occiput. Chin long and pointed. Nose long, straight, and round at the end. Mouth large. Teeth white and large.

*Religion.* They claim to be Moslems, and circumcision is compulsory, but in other respects their Islamism is merely nominal. They are not particular about observing Ramazan, or prayers. They have no moolah, only a sort of sheikh. Each wears a charm written in Arabic to keep off the 'evil-eye.' Sorcerers, or fortune-tellers, both male and female, are found among them. In practising this [sorcery] they use the shoulder-blades of oxen, and gather omens by throwing beans, or grains of barley, on the ground, and observing how they fall, and also palmistry. They also pretend to heal diseases by sorcery, charms, etc. To secure success, a black chicken must be killed, and this afterwards falls to their share.

*Business.* Some have trades. A few practise agriculture, and they have fields a few hours distant from this city, near which many of them pass the summer in tents. Their trades are hereditary, forming a sort of caste, which however are not cut off from intercourse with each other. The most general trade is that of sieve-makers. Those for flour are woven of horse-hair; coarser ones of strips of rawhide. Secrets of the trade are transmitted from father to son. They also make a sort of rude tambourine, with rings inserted to shake, and also a sort of vessel, like a tambourine without rings, for holding dried fruits, etc. They also make blacking-brushes, brushes for cleaning *nargile*-bottles, also a kind of black pigment for the eyes, and a short bone spoon for applying it. They serve as musicians, playing on drums, tambourines, and a sort of rude violin of four strings with a sounding-board shaped like a large wooden ladle. They are also singers. A company of these musicians usually includes one or two lads from twelve to twenty years of age, selected from their handsomest boys, who allow their hair to grow long, and wear a peculiar dress. At weddings and other feasts they dance with a sort of castanets, wearing girls' clothes (and are afterwards used for pederasty). The company also includes a clown, who wears a high pointed cap with two or three fox (?)<sup>1</sup> tails appended, and who makes jokes. His object is to amuse and keep off the 'evil-eye.' Some of the people keep dogs and practise hunting. Some, again, live by begging and pilfering, with a special penchant for appropriating hens.

*Mode of life.* They are very degraded, treat their women as slaves, often beating and cursing them. Except the musicians

<sup>1</sup> 'for' in Mr. Sinclair's manuscript, obviously a slip.

and dancers, they are filthy and foul smelling; generally live on old and spoiled meat, fruit, etc., because cheaper. Women wear long garments reaching to the feet, and cover the head like Turkish women, and wear ear and nose jewels, as do the men sometimes. They also occasionally tattoo the forehead and hands.

They learn languages readily, and usually know all spoken in their neighbourhood. Children, until ten or twelve years of age, go about bare-foot and nearly naked, even in the snows of winter. On the first day of Lent they go about among the Armenian houses, with earthen vessels, gathering up all non-fast food which may remain.

*Language.* They keep their own proper language to a certain extent among themselves, though it is largely mixed, and outside they use the language of those among whom they may be. They have no special written characters, and so far as they use any it is the Arabic. They pronounce their own language with a sort of musical accent.

The name by which they call themselves is *Doom*. The Armenian writers' name is *Kunchoo*, and in conversation *Bōshā*. The Turks call them respectively *Chingānē*, and *Mātrūb* or *Mārtūb*. They prefer to be called *Bey-züde*, 'son of a Bey.'

The following are a few words of their language: *māna*, bread; *mānas*, man; *bānee*, water; *gam*, sun; *māftāf*, moon; *jēnēee*, star; *sārodū*, dog; *backra*, sheep; *Khoya*, God; *gar*, house; *ma*, I; *tu*, you; *kashtoom*, I eat; *beeshtoom*, I drink [?].

*Numerals:* *yēgō*, one; *dewey*, two; *tran*, three; *ishtar*, four; *penj*, five; *shesh*, six; *haft*, seven; *hasht*, eight; *nū*, nine; *dē*, ten; *veest*, twenty; *see*, thirty; *chūl*, forty; *bānjo*, fifty; *sī*, 100; *hāzār*, 1000. Between fifty and one hundred the same as Turkish.

*Letter from the Rev. R. M. Cole, D.D., American missionary  
at Bitlis. April, 1886.*

. . . There is no community of Gypsies residing in this immediate vicinity, though nomadic companies of them come about every year for basket-making, hair-sieve making, etc. They seem to betake themselves to the warmer regions in old Mesopotamia during the winter. There are said to be many of them in the regions about Aintab and Corfa. The native geography of this country

puts down their number in Turkey at 50,000, so I have been told. They are sharpers in most senses of the word. They seem to wish to pass themselves off as Turks in the land, since that race and their language hold the reins of government. They are, however, great linguists, and readily adapt themselves, both in language and dress, to the race and country in which they may have occasion to travel. In Persia they take on the appearance and language of that country, I am told. The Turks despise these Gypsies, and I have been told regard them not of the race of men, and that both they and their money are unclean, so that they [the Turks] do not even collect taxes of them. Their testimony is not accepted in courts, and their oath is not valid. They have no religion or priests, so as to be spoken of as Mohammedan or Christian. The Turks in their language give them various epithets as *Boshah* (worthless), *Mutrub* (beggars), *Chingunah* (clowns); while the Gypsies speak of themselves as the *beg zādā* (excellent race).

They are great enchanterers, dancers, and skilled thieves, as well as pretended alchemists. Their boast is rather begging than hard work, and if in altercation among themselves they seek for derogatory words they will say to one another, 'may you be obliged to earn your bread by work, not by begging.' I am told the bravery of the race lies rather in the women than in the men, and the former are expected to have the greater care for the support of the family. That when marriage is to be entered into the female seeks the male, and only secures his assent to the arrangement after promise of a future support.

So much I have been able to gather up by inquiry here, though it is possible there may be some little inaccuracy in it.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

### 50.—THE GYPSY AND FOLK-LORE CLUB

Mr. W. Townley Searle requests the insertion of the following reply to a note which appeared on p. 145 of this volume of the *J. G. L. S.* :—

On December 30th, 1911, Mr. Augustus John joined the Gypsy and Folk-Lore Club as an ordinary member, paying the ordinary subscription. On April 13th, 1912, he accepted the position of President. On June 3rd he "reluctantly relinquished the honour" owing to his "lack of social attainments" (I quote from the correspondence before me as I write). Moreover, it was Mr. Augustus John who suggested the name of the Club publication. From this you will judge that this gentleman's statement that he "is not, nor ever would be, President, or even a

member of this assemblage," is entirely erroneous, for at the date your paragraph was written he was both.<sup>2</sup>

[The paragraph to which Mr. Augustus John referred appeared in the *Daily Sketch* on December 10, 1912, and included him among 'Friends of the movement or members of the Club.' The methods of the Gypsy and Folk-Lore Club have won the indignant disapproval of members of the Gypsy Lore Society who have attempted to support it. Among others Mr. Augustus John gave the new venture his willing aid at the beginning, and was unluckily persuaded to become its first president. When personal experience had convinced him that it was undesirable to be connected with the Club in any capacity whatsoever, he sent his resignation to Mr. Searle in the polite terms quoted above.—ED.]

51.—WÖRTERBUCH DES DIALEKTS DER FINNLÄNDISCHEN ZIGEUNER.

Helsingfors, 1901. By Arthur Thesleff.

By chance there have come into my possession twenty copies of the above-named work, and I offer them at £1, 10s. each, post free. E. Ljungborg, Torsgatan 22, Stockholm, Sweden.

52.—JOHN BUCLE

The fact that a Gypsy of the name of John Buckle—or, more correctly, John Bucle, which should probably be pronounced as Buckley—was buried at Malmesbury in 1657, was mentioned long ago by Crofton in his *Annals* (*J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 24). But the extract from the Abbey Register, which is quoted in full by his authority (Rev. J. M. Moffatt, *History of the Town of Malmesbury*, 1805, p. 71), is sufficiently curious to bear reprinting:—

'John Bucle, reputed to be a gypsie, deceased September 21, 1657, at John Peryn's house, upon the Fosse, in Shipton parish in Gloucestershire; and was buried in King Athelstone's chappell by King Athelstone, and the Lady Marshall, within the abbie church, at Malmesbury. This buriall was September 23, 1657. Howbeit, he was taken up again by the meanes of Thomas Iyve, esq; who then lived in the abbie, and by the desires and endeavoures of others, out of the said chappell was removed into the church yarde, and there was re-buried neere the east side of the church poorch, October 7, 1657, in the presence of Thomas Iyve, of the abbie, esq; Pleadwell of Mudgell, esq; Rich. Whitmore, of Slaughter, in the countie of Glocester, and Dr. Qui, of Malmesbury, with very many others.'

It may be noted that there is no claim to the title of King, which is attributed to him by Crofton.

The extract was quoted in the *Cheltenham Journal* for February 19, 1910.

F. C. WELLSTOOD.

20th November 1912.

Though the name of this Malmesbury Gypsy looks like Buckley, Wilts is not, so far as I know, a county travelled by the Buckleys; but it is and has been for many years much frequented by Bucklands. In the Old Series of the *J. G. L. S.*, vol. iii. p. 122, two entries relating to Bucklands are quoted from the Seend Parish Register, or rather from a copy of it made by an old parish clerk:—'Ann, a Gipsy child, daug<sup>r</sup> of Sympathy Bucklan, base-born, was baptized 4th July 1802,' and 'Mesela, a Gipsy child, daug<sup>r</sup> of William and Susanna Bucklan, was buried the 25th April 1805.' Edward Buckland, father of Norwood's friend of

the same name, was tried at the Lent Assizes at Salisbury in 1821 for the murder of Judith Pierce at Seagry (*Jackson's Oxford Journal*, March 17, 1821) and condemned to death. Possibly 'Tho. Buckland and Mary Buckland of Melksham,' who were married at Devizes on November 20, 1655, were Gypsies too: and certainly the widow of Uriah (*alias* Butcher) Buckland, a son of old Dimiti Buckland and Lolly Smith, and her children, always winter round Swindon, while Jabez Buckland, son of Dimiti the younger, who was a brother of Uriah, has a house at Highworth. It seems, therefore, worth pointing out a coincidence between the entry in the Mahnesbury register and Dimiti's family. John Buelle died at Shipton. Old Dimiti's son John was always known by the nickname Shipton; from him the nickname was handed down to his nephew John, son of Dimiti the younger, though in his case it was generally shortened to Shippy; and from this John it has descended to his son John. This strange nickname has therefore certainly been handed down for three generations; and, if it can be handed down for three generations, there seems no reason why it should not have been handed down for an unlimited number. Is it possible that, after the death of John Buelle at Shipton, the name of the place where he died was substituted for the Christian name of some relative previously called John, in order to avoid mentioning the dead man's name, according to Gypsy custom: and that the nickname has continued to be applied to all the Johns in the family since that time? The change from Buckley to Buckland is no serious difficulty, especially in the case of Gypsies; indeed it is probable that the Buckleys and Bucklands were originally one clan. Nor, if the name were meant to be pronounced Buckle, is the connection impossible, since I have recently come across an example of the converse change. At Barton, near Headington, lives an old lady of eighty-five years of age, whose husband, according to Gustun Smith, another Gypsy inhabitant of the village, was Jabez Buckland, son of Jabez Buckland, no connection with the aforementioned Jabez of Highworth, but some sort of relative to Turnaper Buckland. Turnaper certainly had a brother of that name, who is said to be still alive: but, unfortunately, on visiting this old woman, I found her too childish and her family too gâjified to give me any information about her husband's people. That, however, is not the point here. My point is that, though the eldest daughter admitted that her father's name was Buckland, in process of gâjifying themselves they have changed that name, which is well known locally as a Gypsy name, to Buckle, and are known by this name to their neighbours. If that change can take place now, the converse could certainly have taken place years ago, when the forms of proper names were by no means fixed.

Incidentally I may mention that the extracts from the Seend Register quoted above from the Old Series of the *J. G. L. S.* are given in quite a different form in *The Genealogist*, vol. iii. (1879) p. 397. There they appear as 'Ann, daughter of Elizabeth Bucklen (single woman, and one of the people called Gypsies), July 4, 1827; and Meselo, daughter of William and Susanna Bucklen (being one of the people called Gypsies), Ap. 25, 1805.' Presumably this, which is taken from the Register itself, not from a copy, is the more reliable form. One other Gypsy occurs among the extracts given in *The Genealogist*:—'Sarah, daughter of Tryphena Dix (single woman, and one of the people called Gypsies)'; baptized August 3, 1806. Dix is otherwise unknown to me as a Gypsy name; but travellers of the name of Dixon are still to be found, chiefly round Manchester.

E. O. WINSTEDT.

### 53.—A GYPSY CONVICT

Accounts of Gypsies in fiction are not to be neglected by students, especially when these are based on actual experience. In Chapter vi., Part ii. of *Fedor*



Dostoevsky's *The House of the Dead* (English translation in 'Everyman's Library,' London, 1912), there figures a Gypsy called Koulikoff, whose knowledge of horses and general versatility are highly extolled. 'He was a Tsigan all over in his doings, liar and cheat, and not at all the master of his art he boasted of being. The income he made had raised him to be a sort of aristocrat among our convicts; he was listened to and obeyed, but he spoke little, and expressed an opinion only in great emergencies. He blew his own trumpet loudly, but he really was a fellow of great energy; he was of ripe age, and of quite marked intelligence. When he spoke to us of the nobility, he did so with exquisite politeness and perfect dignity. I am sure that if he had been suitably dressed, and introduced into a club at the capital with the title of Count, he would have lived up to it; played whist, talked to admiration like a man used to command, and one who knew when to hold his tongue. I am sure that the whole evening would have passed without any one guessing that the "Count" was nothing but a vagabond. He had very probably had a very large and varied experience in life; as to his past, it was quite unknown to us.' Chapter ix. tells of his unsuccessful attempt at escape.

ALEX. RUSSELL.

29th November 1912.

#### 54.—BANISHMENTS FROM DENMARK

Some Gypsies arrived in Denmark from Germany this summer and were shortly afterwards banished from Faaborg (Fyn) to Als in Schleswig. The following were their names:—

Max Paul Schultz,	born in Schöneberg,	19 Feb., 1887.
Johan Pohl,	„ „ Liebstadt,	9 Feb., 1895.
Otto Petermann,	„ „ Hemmerdorf,	28 July, 1895.
Karl Goe (=Pohl),	„ „ Halle,	11 May, 1882.
Rosa Petermann,	„ „ Nordhausen,	[?] 1874.
Josef Wending (=Galina =Ridung=Widuch),	„ „ Elsass,	18 April, 1843.
Marie Matza,	„ „ Elsass,	27 Feb., 1858.

JOHAN MISKOW.

10th October 1912.

#### 55.—INVERTO BOSWELL AGAIN

In a recent note<sup>1</sup> I had occasion to mention Inverto Boswell, and quoted an authority who printed an entry in the Calne parish register, stating that Inverto 'died in the small-pox.' At the time I was not aware that local tradition, some seventy years after his death, assigned a different reason for it; and, as that tradition is not without interest, I quote it here from the *Wanderings of a Pen and a Pencil*, by Alfred Crowquill [*i.e.* Alfred Henry Forrester] and F. P. Palmer (London, 1846), pp. 279-81:—

'In this churchyard [Calne] there is a tomb of one called a "king of the gipsies." We have sketched the tomb; the inscription runs thus:—

[Here follows a sketch of the tomb, which was apparently then intact. It is a solid-looking altar-shaped tomb, with a roof-like canopy supported by pillars

<sup>1</sup> *J. G. L. S.*, vi. 76-77.

rising from the four corners of the tomb. In one of the ends is a panel with a figure of a rearing horse surrounded by a wreath in high relief on it.] "Under this tomb lieth the body of *Inverto Boswell*, son of *Henry* and *Eliza Boswell*, who departed this life the 8th day of February, 1774. The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord."

My companion, who had entered into the merits of our guide, made inquiry as to the character of the "monarch of the lanes," thus nobly sepulchred. The clerk's deputy (for such he seemed to be) . . . gave tongue to this brief recitation:—"I don't know—it's a goodish bit back since, you see; but Nelly Jones she knows, because she's a-going a' ninety year or more, and she had it from them as followed the burying. You see, sir, there was gipsies in White Horse Vale, and this young un before his turn come to be king on 'em. Nelly Jones says that Price, the tinkler's grandfather, told her as an old doctor as knew Latin, and all sorts of things, ordered the lad to be christened "*Inverto*" as soon as he was born of his mother, because "*Inverto*" means as *he wasn't born like other people no how*, but I don't know nothin' about old wives' talk, so there it must be. Well, when he grow'd up he went all over the world, they say, with the camp, and the donkeys, and the rest; and at last, when he was made king, he lived with his father and mother, near Uffington, which made 'em put the "*White Horse*" on his tomb, for the sake of the place. They made no show, as some of the gipsies do, but seemed very poor; and men, women and children were all as brown as a basin of coffee grounds. Well, the father and mother couldn't tell what to make of their son, for all at once he seemed going into a decline, and none of the physicians they took him to could make any great hand of him. Time went on, and they found out he was desperately in love with a farmer's daughter, down in the vale there. The farmer's daughter was fond of him; but her father threatened to hang and drown her, and twenty things beside, if ever she thought of going to church with a Heathen gipsy, because it ran in his head the whole set were not one squint better than born rogues and common thieves. Well, sir, it wouldn't do no how for the young chap to die because he couldn't have the farmer's daughter; so old Boswell and his wife for once in their lives dressed themselves up in such a proud way as no one ever saw before, and marched into the Grange one morning, just as the farmer was looking over his Michaelmas bills. Well, as Nelly Jones says, after a grand huff and a precious wrangling, this was what it all come to. The gipsy offered to count guinea for guinea with the girl's father, as long as he liked to go at it, provided he should say yea to the match if Boswell laid down the most of the gold on his own side the kitchen table. Now! the game began, for the farmer loved money, they say, and put his whole soul in it at all times. The farmer's bag was soon emptied. Boswell matched the sum, and his wife popped into his fist a second bag, to carry on the bargain; so they all shook hands round, and the girl was won. The young man got lively again, but it lasted just a week; for the lass put on something light to go a merry making in, at a brother's "outcome," and died of an inflammation in no time. It was all over with King Boswell. He never lifted up his face after they put her under ground. They moved him near to Studley about Christmas, and he died just as the sheep began to drop their lambs, about the beginning of the year."

This story, which seems to represent rather the Uffington than the Calne tradition, need not necessarily be contradictory to the statement in the parish register that he died of small-pox. Small-pox may have supervened and been the ultimate cause of his death.

Two points are worth noticing. Though he is called 'king' throughout, the testimony of the tale, like that of the inscription and the entry in the register, tells against his having any right to the title. It is exceedingly unlikely that he would be king during his father's lifetime, and there is little doubt that his father and mother were Henry, King of the Gipsies, and Elizabeth, his wife, who were

buried in Ickleford church in 1780 and 1782, aged respectively ninety and seventy years.<sup>1</sup>

The tradition tells too against the idea one is apt to conceive from the talk of old Gypsies and from Borrow, that marriage with *gâje* was practically unknown and strongly objected to by all Gypsies till a hundred years ago or even less. Doubtless there were, as there are now, Gypsies who had objections to it; but still Borrow himself had to admit that it did exist, and it does not seem to have been so very uncommon. Here we have Gypsies, real old black originals according to the description of them, who had no objection to the mixture; the objection came from the *gâjo* side. So it did a few years later in the case of Tobias Smith, a Bedfordshire Gypsy. The banns of marriage were published at Haynes in Bedfordshire between 'Tobias Smith (Gypsey) Single man & Elizabeth Dines Spinr', 17 & 24 Apr. 1791.' In the register a note is added: '*N.B.* The Banns withdrawn at y<sup>e</sup> instance of Eliz. Dines (a Minor) & her Mother,' and another to the effect, 'Tobias capitally convicted of Horse Stealing at Bedford Lent Assizes, March 10th 1792; Executed April 3rd 1792.'<sup>2</sup> It is possible that Tobias was only following in the footsteps of his father James, since his mother *Jemima* 'had some education in her youth; she lived several years in service, and afterwards took up with a Gipsy,' and one of his uncles, most likely her brother, was a house-dweller at Great Stourton.<sup>3</sup> At about the same period probably, 'Fair maid' Smith, daughter of 'Jemmy the Gypsy king,' who is pretty certainly identical with James Smith buried at Launton in Oxfordshire aged more than a hundred in 1830, was married to a mason, and received £500 as her dowry.<sup>4</sup> Again, it must have been some ten years before Inverto Boswell's death that Thomas Herne, the father of Borrow's Thomas Herne, married an Oxfordshire villager's daughter, as their daughter Elizabeth was born at Chinnor in 1763.<sup>5</sup> And the marriages of Merrily Cooper with Isaac Jowles, another mason, and of the Gypsy woman, who protected John Steggall about 1797, with her *gâjo* husband, would probably fall in the same period.<sup>6</sup> Now considering how very few Gypsies of that date there are about whose lives and marriages one knows any exact details, when one can mention six or seven within some thirty years in whose case marriage with *gâje* was either contracted or at any rate seriously contemplated, it does not seem as though the event can have been particularly rare in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

Nor is there any reason for supposing that it was an innovation then any more than it is now. Any one who has waded through the mass of evidence relating to the Canning case in Howell's *State Trials*, vol. 19, must have noticed how admir-

<sup>1</sup> Groome, *In Gipsy Tents*, p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> *The Parish Register of Haynes* . . . transcribed by William Brigg (1891), p. 119.

<sup>3</sup> T. Tattershall, *An Account of Tobias Smith* (1792), pp. 2, 5. But if, as seems highly probable, this James Smith is identical with the one buried at Turvey in 1822, aged 105, then his wife *Jemima* would be a daughter of Elizabeth Robinson, who, according to Groome (*In Gipsy Tents*, p. 113), was a Gypsy. James and *Jemima* are called 'Egyptians' in the entry of their daughter *Sophia's* baptism at Haynes, January 18, 1784 (*The Parish Register of Haynes*, p. 83).

<sup>4</sup> For 'Fair maid' cf. T. F. Tyerman, *Notices of the Life of John Pratt* (Oxford, 1861), p. 21; and for the burial of James Smith cf. Groome, *In Gipsy Tents*, p. 120. In the Parish Register at Launton, which I must thank the Vicar for kindly allowing me to examine, the entry runs, 'James Smith, Wendlebury, Jany. 16th, 95 years.'

<sup>5</sup> Borrow, *Lavolil* (1907), p. 121; and Groome, *In Gipsy Tents*, p. 114.

<sup>6</sup> For Merrily cf. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 397-8; and for the other Gypsy cf. *John H. Steggall: a real history of a Suffolk man . . . narrated by himself* (London, 1857), *passim*.

ably Mary Squires and her family illustrate the Gypsy becoming gâjified through intermarriage. Witnesses from Dorsetshire state that they remember Mary for the last thirty years—the date of the trial was 1753: she used to travel with a donkey and dressed as a Gypsy, and they imply she camped; but at the time of the trial and for some years previously she and her son and daughter were travelling as ordinary packmen and packwomen (if there is such a word) selling clothes and silver lace, and they slept in lodging-houses and inns, and were not dressed as Gypsies. The son had lodgings in Newington, the daughter was engaged to a settled gâjo; and, as well as references to some relatives in Kent, who travelled and sold goods like themselves, there are others to a Mrs. Squires in the Borough, and a relation 'who belongs to the customs, named Samuel Squires; he lives in White Hart-yard.' He certainly cannot have been a Gypsy, and pretty obviously the late lamented Mr. Squires was a gâjo, who had married a Gypsy girl. Nor is there much doubt to what clan Mary herself belonged, when one finds that in 1710 'Mary and Elizabeth Squire, *alias* Skamp (!) were ordered to be whipped' in the Cornmarket at Worcester.<sup>1</sup> And personally I am always tempted to think that the celebrated Margaret Finch's history was much the same as that of Mary Squires. Margaret died in a tent; her niece who succeeded her died in a hut; her granddaughter, who succeeded the niece, was a house-dweller; and thereafter the Finchs disappear from Gypsy history, the next Norwood queen of whom we hear being Sarah Skemp.<sup>2</sup> It certainly looks as though gâjo blood had entered the family in Margaret's generation, and in three more generations the Gypsy blood had been diluted out of it. And one cannot help suspecting that that gâjo blood came in with Mr. Finch, as Finch is unexampled as a Gypsy name before or after,<sup>3</sup> unless one is rash enough to equate it with the Fince or Fingo of an early Scottish record, which may not be a name at all.<sup>4</sup> As Margaret was born about 1630, her marriage would take place in the second half of the seventeenth century; but the seventeenth century is a particularly dark period of Gypsy history, and I cannot adduce any parallel for admixture with gâje in it. When one turns, however, to the records of the sixteenth century, one finds several laws against gâje consorting with Gypsies. Laws are very seldom made for things which have not occurred, and one may reasonably take it that gâje did consort with Gypsies in the sixteenth century; and consorting could not go on for very long without intermarriage; so that, on the whole, there is tolerable evidence that intermarriage has been no very rare thing ever since the Gypsies have been in England. The results are various. At times the Gypsy blood and habit of life predominate: this seems to have been the case with the Chilcots. At other times it is absorbed: this, if my suggestions about the Squires family is right, is what happened in their case. It has certainly happened in the case of the old Oxfordshire Smiths, who are practically all settled and hardly distinguishable from gâje. And at other times the result has been a race of half-breeds, like Thomas Herne and his descendants.

E. O. WINSTEDT.

<sup>1</sup> J. Noake, *Notes and Queries for Worcestershire* (London, 1856), p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. F. W. Hackwood, *The Good Old Times* (London, 1910), p. 215.

<sup>3</sup> Some descendants may be on the roads still, as George Finch, a Gypsy, was fined thirty shillings for driving without a light and using indecent language at Heywood's Heath in 1911 (*Mid-Sussex Times*, 21st February 1911), and the name appears on the list of Gypsy names in Leland's *Gypsies*, p. 305.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. MacRitchie, *Scottish Gypsies*, pp. 37-43. It has been suggested that Satona Fingo and Nona Fingo stand for *sako navengo* and 'no navengo' (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 162). May I venture a suggestion that Hatseyggow, a name which occurs in the same list, simply means 'German'? All the German Gypsies, whom Messrs. Atkinson, Thompson, and I met last summer in a tramp through Western Germany to Elsass used *χαςίκο* for 'German.' The word was quite distinct from *gajo*, and may be a variant of *haxiko* from *haxo* 'a peasant,' though it is a very odd one.

# INDEX OF OLD SERIES

## JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

By ALEXANDER RUSSELL

G. = Gypsy. Gs. = Gypsies.

The original Indexes of the three volumes of the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, Old Series, 1888-92, extend in all to eight pages, and are little more than a Table of Contents of the principal articles. Volumes such as these, however, dealing with so many different aspects of the 'affairs of Egypt,' necessarily contain widely scattered references that must be brought together for the use of the student, and so a large and comprehensive index is required if the volumes are not to lose half their value.

The system followed is that of the Indexes of the New Series. There are important sub-alphabets under 'Folk-tales, Incidents of,' 'Names, G. Christian,' 'Names, G. Surnames,' 'Names, G. Tribal or Race,' 'Newspapers,' 'Notes and Queries,' 'Occupations, G.,' 'Romani words worth noting,' 'Songs, G.,' 'Superstitions, G.' A list of 'Errata' is given at pp. 379-80 of Vol. I., 387-8 of Vol. II., 262 of Vol. III. To that list should be added one misprint which is constantly giving trouble in the proof-sheets of the New Series. This is the title of Groome's *In Gypsy Tents*, which is misprinted with a *y* nineteen times. Even in articles by Groome himself it is misprinted, as also on the title-pages of his *Kriegsspiel*, and his *Gypsy Folk-Tales*. In the volumes of the Old Series Sampson is the only one who prints it correctly.

ALEX. RUSSELL.

STROMNESS, ORKNEY,  
December 1913.

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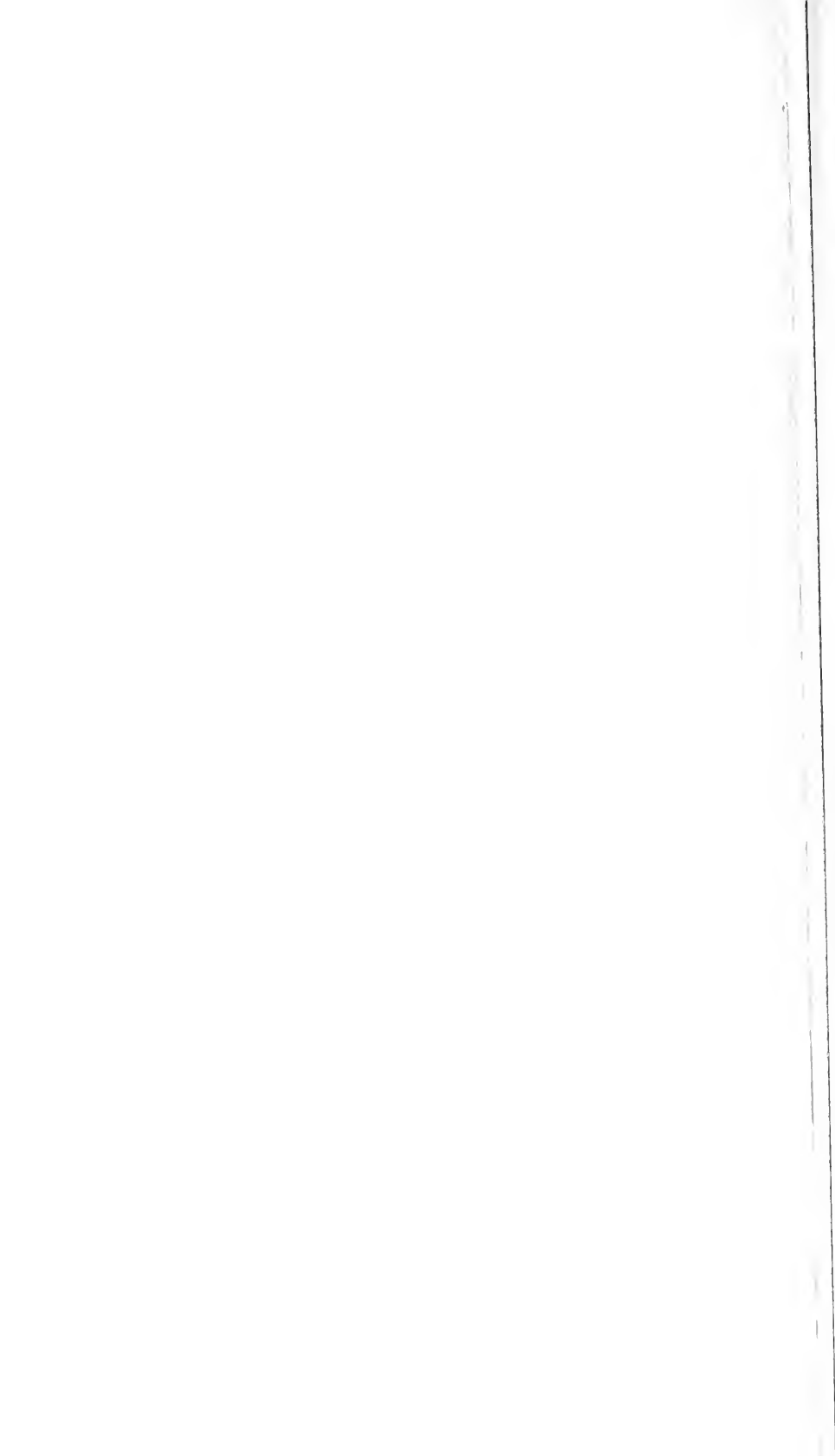
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